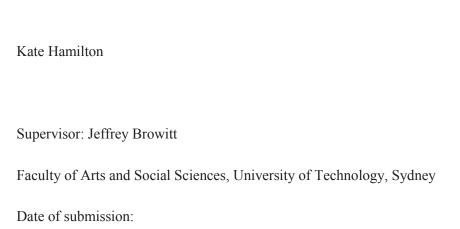# Skilled Migration and Higher Education

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

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Date of submission:

Certificate of original authorship

I certify that the work in this thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree except as fully acknowledged within the text.

I also certify that the thesis has been written by me. Any help that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself has been acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

Signature of student:

Date:

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Glossary of acronyms

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
ACTU	Australian Council of Trade Unions
AEI	Australian Education International
AQTF	Australian Quality Training Framework
ASQA	Australian Skills Quality Authority
CRICOS	Commonwealth Register of Institutions and Courses for Overseas Students
CSL	Critical Skills List
DEEWR	Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations
DEST	Department of Education, Science and Technology
DIAC	Department of Immigration and Citizenship
DIMIA	Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs
ELICOS	English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students
ESOS	Educational Services for Overseas Students
GSM Program	General Skilled Migration Program
HECS	Higher Education Contribution Scheme
IELTS	International English Language Testing System
ICAC	Independent Commission Against Corruption
ICT	information communication technology

IT	information technology
PR visa	permanent residency visa
NTEU	National Tertiary Education Union
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PR visa	Permanent Residency visa
SOL	Skilled Occupation List
SVP	streamlined visa processing
TAFE	Technical and Further Education
TEQSA	Tertiary Education Quality Standards Authority
VET	vocational education and training
VRQA	Victorian Registration and Qualifications Authority

Abstract

This research contributes to the field of international higher education policy studies by mapping a particular set of Australian Government policies which conflated higher education and skilled migration to Australia between 2001 and 2010. The policies were derived from a convergence of dominant global discourses and worldwide trends of globalisation, neoliberalism, skilled migration and international student mobility. The research explores how these discourses shaped and influenced the fields of government, higher education and vocational education and training, as well as the market for international students, by focusing on the sites of interaction and contest between the fields, which at times were both complementary and antagonistic. The thesis interrogates the unintended consequences of a nexus of policies that derived from an economistic, neoliberal model for commercialising higher education and migration. The thesis is a contribution to international higher education policy studies by addressing how the establishment and disestablishment of policy towards international higher education students in Australia became symptomatic of the problems inherent in the wider global policy field of education.

Chapter 1: Context and orientation of the research

This thesis on higher education encompasses the years 2001 to 2010, when migration policy was conflated with international education policy in Australia, allowing large intakes of international students to universities and other tertiary institutions. The research is conceptualised within a framework of four discourses and three fields based on the theoretical concepts of Pierre Bourdieu. The discourses identified reflect the world trends that are shaping and influencing governments and economies.

Two of the key discourses are globalisation and neoliberalism. This thesis presents an exploration of their relationship to the contemporary marketisation of higher education and the increased market behaviours (Marginson 1993) of agents in the field of tertiary education, which had been previously insulated from the market (Slaughter & Leslie 1997). As described by Marginson (2007b), universities are now being modelled and governed as businesses through neoliberal 'new management principles' and are responsible for the production of knowledge as a commodity of the global economy (Altbach 2004; Burbules & Torres 2000; Delanty 2001).

The introduction of three fields, that is, government, tertiary education and the market for overseas students, uses Bourdieu's concept of the field as a structured social world and helps to demonstrate their dynamism and elasticity in order to analyse where and how they intersect and overlap. Fields, as places of power relations, reveal the complexities of a matrix of relations between people, government policy and markets, whose conflicts and settlements shape discourses and vice versa (Maton 2005).

This research is set in the context of a historical period of globalisation as a paradigm within Western economic systems of government, which impacts on higher education through marketisation and commoditisation of universities and vocational education providers. Importantly, the experiences of the conflation and the impact of these policies on international students form the basis of this research. The convergence of discourse occurs in global policy environments for higher education because of the direct connection between education, economic growth, and migration (Access Economics 2008; Green 1997).

Chapter 1 discusses the ongoing reforms within higher education in Australia and introduces the two additional discourses, which are migration and international student mobility. In Australia, these are considered to be central to economic growth and prosperity

(Carrington et al. 2007; Castles & Forster 2000). To a greater or lesser extent, every aspect of Australian life has been defined by the flows of migration, and vigorous debate on the quantity and composition of migration intakes erupts regularly in public life (Castles & Forster 2000, p. 9). Further, the internationalisation of higher education has been an incremental process over many years, and universities have been more open to inclusion in worldwide trends and communities than many other sectors. Educational trade is global, while educational policy and governance are national; tensions arise between the two. These tensions are explored in the fields identified. Government comprises the major political parties, the bureaucracy, relevant ministers and their policy advisers. The field of tertiary education includes universities, private vocational education and training (VET) companies, and the market for overseas students as defined in Australia as an export market for international education.

Within this complexity, it is important to acknowledge that internationalisation of universities has many productive benefits (Knight 2004) through the expansion of fields of knowledge, the exchange of scholars, and scholarship working on deeper interests with implications for areas such as climate change, ecology, worldwide disease and poverty, and military conflicts (Marginson 2008). In the search for solutions to worldwide problems, universities are melting pots of ideas and breakthroughs in the sciences and technology, with research occurring in a globally networked way across the world (Marginson 2007a).

In response to national problems of economic growth following the resources decline and an ageing workforce the Australian Government adopted global policy formulas under free trade agreements to expand the export of international education. This study analyses a number of key Australian Government policy documents and texts between 2001 and 2010. It does so from the theoretical perspective of Bourdieu's work on discourses and fields as key concepts for the investigation of the interrelationships between the fields of government, universities and the market for international students. It will examine the conflation of higher education and migration from the viewpoint of two international students and the people who work with them, through a series of qualitative semi-structured interviews.

This study aims to contribute to the field of international education by filling a gap in knowledge about the intended and unintended consequences of the aforementioned conflation, and how they shape the experiences of international students while living, studying and working in Australia. The research also seeks to establish that the conflation has contributed to and is symptomatic of the emergence of a global policy field of

education, as education became central to the economic development of a 'knowledge nation' (Lingard et al. 2005).

1.1   The four discourses

The power of discourses to reformulate and redefine social agendas and social worlds is such that these discourses are constitutive of a new reality if they remain unchallenged (Bourdieu 1999; 2002). By identifying, analysing and problematising the discourses of globalisation, neoliberalism, migration and international student mobility, one can demystify and reveal their power to shape the higher education sector as a case in point (Parker 2002; Smart 2002). Implicit in these discourses are assumptions about the validity, currency and pedagogical relevance of higher education and educators (Finkelstein 2002). In this section, a brief explanation of the discourses from the perspective of Bourdieu is provided to understand the world through the lens of the conflation of education and skilled migration policies.

In Bourdieu's terms, discourses do their own performative work and are utilised to help make sense of the world (Bourdieu 2003, p. 81). For Bourdieu, discourses occur within and about fields, which are structured social spaces that have hierarchies, rules of organisation, norms and cultures, as well as dominant and subordinate agents competing within those fields for power and control (Bourdieu 1998b, p. 40). This will be explained further in Chapter 3, Methodology.

1.1.1   Globalisation

Globalisation is understood as the 'continuous global flows of people, information, knowledge, technologies, products and financial capital' (Marginson & van der Wende 2007, p. 5). In the convergence of the global knowledge economy, higher education institutions have become 'key agents' of globalisation because governments in developed economies gave primacy to the connection between higher education and economic growth, not only as a service to be traded but primarily as the seat for intellectual and technological capitals in innovation and discovery (Ball et al. 2007; Keating & Smith 2010).

Despite the prevalence of the term 'globalisation', many scholars are not clear on what phenomena it represents and how it might be accurately described and defined. In *Global transformations: politics, economics and culture,* Held et al. provide analysis that characterises the evolution of globalisation theorisation (Held et al. 1999). While the

discourses of globalisation and neoliberalism are different, they are also convergent and mutually reinforcing (Tickell & Peck 2015).

Lingard, Rawolle and Taylor (2005) have utilised Bourdieu's foundational concepts to theorise the effects of globalisation of policy development in the emerging 'global field of educational policy' (Lingard et al. 2005). They make a direct connection between education, economic growth and migration (Green 1997; OECD 2004). Australia's higher education sector has seen significant reform since the 1990s (Bradley et al. 2008) through the creation of a larger higher education sector (such as the former Colleges of Advanced Education that became universities with the abolition of the binary system of higher education), decreased government funding and increased competition and marketisation. This stimulus to change (Marginson 2007a) was reflective of broader meta-trends of globalisation and their discourses as the new global knowledge economy evolved (Castells 1996).

1.1.2 Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism is an economic philosophy that promotes the liberalisation of government policies for trade and privatisation of public utilities. Neoliberalism favours greater autonomy from regulatory control for private enterprises by smaller governments. Under neoliberal tenets, the transmutation of nation states to market states follows a worldwide trend to valorise neoliberalism over alternate discourses. The elision of neoliberalism and globalisation repositions national economies as integral to the global economy. Bourdieu contends that this transition is an inevitable progression of capitalist states and increased acts of concentrated statecraft (Bourdieu 1999, 2002). Bourdieu (2003) comments that most contemporary politicians are actually talking about neo-liberal globalisation when they discuss globalisation in general terms and, as such, elude other meanings, so this usage works in a performative way.

The emergence of a global economy is an outcome of the convergence of a technological revolution and capitalism (Zajda 2005). Scholars contend that universities are undergoing a crisis as they adjust to the commercial pressures that this convergence brings (Preston 2002) to their missions and future development.

The predominance of neoliberal theory in the reforming of the higher education sector (Considine & Marginson 2000) meant that a confluence of higher education, economic performance and skills of the workforce to generate productivity and growth (Shah & Bourke 2003) was considered essential to the sustainability of the economy (Gee & Hull

1996). A key premise of neoliberalism is that governments should remain small, but large enough to facilitate the operations of the market, and this discourse has dominated policy-making for two decades. As a global policy community, the OECD specifically promulgated globalisation (Lingard et al. 2005, p. 761) and recommended the privatisation of the higher education sector as well as cross-border trade of higher education degrees formulated along market lines (Breneman 1993b).

Advanced economies of the West, including Canada, Great Britain, USA and Australia, embraced the new direction for higher education of wealth creation (Slaughter & Leslie 1997). The Canadian Government, for example, positioned Canada's universities as instrumental to the future prosperity of the nation. In an address to the Canadian Government, the Head of the Science Council of Canada stated:

> Teaching and basic research are the major roles of the university and must remain so. But as knowledge replaces raw materials as the primer of the world economy, the universities' part in creating wealth – too often understated – becomes crucially important. The intellectual resources of the university are needed to help revitalise mature industries and generate the productive ideas needed to create new ones. Canada's future prosperity increasingly depends on designing effective ways to integrate the university and the market place (quoted in Slaughter & Leslie 1997, p. 53).

The structural, reputational and financial reforms of universities rendered them global players in multibillion-dollar markets, and they were governed by a regime of 'new public management' (Marginson 2007c, p. 1). Knowledge itself is the currency of transactions, and universities are the generators and producers of that currency (Jarvis 2001). Teichler (2004) observed that much of the commentary on globalisation seemed to focus on competition, marketisation and managerialism and less on the potential to mould and shape global citizens through higher education (Teichler 2004, p. 23). Marginson (2003) argues that neoliberal discourses and policies generated by central policy communities like the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) are re-engineering professional work in universities with new managerial patterns and practices.

1.1.3 Migration

Consistent with the economic orthodoxy that a diverse, high-skilled migrant workforce would contribute to economic growth (Florida 2003), the Australian Government made

strategic decisions about the composition and balance of its skilled migration program to counteract skills shortages as the country transitioned from a material economy to a service economy and continued to grow to meet the needs of the knowledge economy (Carnoy & Castells 1993; Rust & Jacob 2005). Critical to this transition was the higher education sector and harnessing a pool of qualified, skilled workers to fill the technological and financial roles that boost economic growth (Counihan & Miller 2002; McDonald 2005). This was cast as a worldwide war for talent, in which Australia was competing against many other nations (Kuptzch & Eng 2006).

After the mass influx of European migrants into Australia in the wake of World War II began to subside in the 1960s, the government focus changed from family and reunion migration to skilled migration (Castles & Foster 2000; Koleth 2010, pp. 1-2). The 2001 Census of Population and Housing showed that migrants constituted 24 per cent of the workforce, with a further quarter of the population in Australia having at least one parent born overseas (ABS 2006; Khoo et al. 2003). Graeme Hugo highlights how, for the three decades prior to 2003 (Hugo 2003), Australia tailored its migration program to be principally skill selective (Vanstone 2006). The subject of skilled migration became topical in light of skills shortages facing Australia (Birrell 2004; Birrell et al. 2005), and a diverse body of work has grown around the skills crisis in Australia and elsewhere (Birrell & Rapson 2001; Keep 2005). The theoretical approaches relevant to skilled migration have included demographic mapping and analysis of population movements (Hugo 2006); economic and labour market analysis (Birrell 2004); skills shortages and policy responses (Buchanon 2006; Shah & Burke 2003); educational and quality issues (Hawke & Cornford 1998); and human capital theory (Becker 1962).

Traditionally, Australia has a longstanding commitment to and reliance on migration. Post-war policy attracted skilled migrant labour for permanent settlement in Australia for the task of nation-building (Birrell & Perry 2009). Starting in 1996, a 'paradigm shift' in migration policy occurred, from recruiting migrants as permanent settlers to engineering a long-term temporary workforce (Koleth 2010; Markus et al. 2009).

During the period of the nexus of higher education and skilled migration from 2001 to 2010, the stated national policy aim, evident in the dominant discourse about the same, was to achieve a highly skilled workforce and a high-growth economy, with the weighting on greater productivity and efficiency delivering value-added products, commodities and services (Shah & Burke 2006). Globally, the flow of students into universities was higher than at any other time in history. This was the case for Australia during the period of the

conflation, where two of the 'supply side keys to growth' (Marginson 2007a, p. 5) were greater deregulation and increased international student intakes. During the first decade of the 21st century, the focus on migration for skills shortages (Shah & Burke 2003) by governments and industry was heightened; however, the Global Financial Crisis raised concerns for local employment (Evans 2009). Since that time, the thrust of migration policy has been towards temporary migration; in Australia in 2013, there were over a million temporary workers on different types of visas (Birrell & Healy 2013).

1.1.4 International student mobility

Connected to globalisation and neoliberal policies for universities, the diaspora of international students worldwide reached unprecedented levels during the past 15 years and is predicted to reach 7.2 million by 2025 (Knight 2013, p. 87). The international student industry has been a very profitable one for Australia, and it has created jobs in the university sector (Access Economics 2009b). The international student diaspora was symptomatic of global transformations and human and resources movements on a massive scale, liberated by economic growth and free trade agreements for goods and services.

The threefold increase in student numbers from 2001 to 2010 (Koleth 2010, p. 1) meant that the number of students grew at a rate of 13.9 per cent per annum every year after 2001 (Koleth 2010, pp. 1-2). This was a direct result of the conflation with migration policy to allow onshore applications for permanent residency (PR) visas (Birrell & Healy 2008). Simultaneously, during the period 2001 to 2007, in Australia there was a disinvestment of government funding to the higher education sector of more than $6 billion in real terms (Marginson & Eijkman 2007). For example, in 1995, the total government payments to the higher education sector amounted to 0.86 per cent of Australia's gross domestic product (GDP), and by 2005 it was only 0.72 per cent (NTEU 2007). This compares unfavourably, for example, with similar social democracies such as the United Kingdom, which registered 72 per cent and New Zealand, which registered 62.5 per cent, respectively of their GDPs on public higher education, in addition to increased private spending. While in Australia, spending per tertiary student dropped by 30 per cent between 1995 and 2002 despite the number of tertiary students increasing by 31 per cent (Marginson 2007a, p. 20).

A key motivation for universities to expand their percentages of international students was thus the reduction of Commonwealth funding to the tertiary sector between 1996 and 2000 (Birrell et al. 2005). Universities responded to this shortfall by offering courses for full fee-paying international students, generating a 30 per cent increase in demand for Australian

tertiary courses (Birrell et al. 2006). By 2005, a total of 304,035 international students were enrolled in education courses, with China and India leading the way (AEI 2006). Of those enrolments, 66 per cent of Indian students and 38 per cent of all graduate international students were granted permanent residence (DIAC 2009a).

Other developed Western countries such as Canada were also seeking to increase their migration levels through international student intakes (Knight 2008). As was the case for Australia, this was aimed at replacing ageing workforces and maintaining the tax base (Access Economics 2009a) of the country. However, as the growth of international students continued in Australia so did the concerns of academics, commentators, industry and government regarding a number of unintended consequences (Birrell & Healy 2008, p. 1), including poor labour market success (Arkoudis et al. 2009; Birrell et al. 2006; Bretag 2007). In addition, issues of student safety and welfare were the subjects of two government inquiries into the market for international students and its management and regulation (Baird 2010; Senate Inquiry into Welfare International Students 2009).

The effect of the introduction of large numbers of international students and their conversion into skilled migrants has been contested and debated in Australia. Knight (2013) commented that internationalisation commodified international students by defining their value in economic terms:

> In other words, have the values related to economic, political and status related rationales trumped the importance and values related to academic and social-cultural purposes and benefits of higher education internationalisation? (Knight 2013, p. 89).

It was found that in order to be successful in the labour market international students needed to demonstrate their English language proficiency (Arkoudis et al. 2009; 2013) and gain work experience in Australian workplaces (Birrell & Healy 2013). This became an issue for governments and industries seeking skilled workers, as international students who gained permanent residency after graduating in Australia did not need to have any work experience in their field, unlike the offshore skilled migrants (Birrell & Healy 2008a, pp. 17-18).

Over time, the government addressed these objectives through tightening the prerequisites of the General Skilled Migration (GSM) Program (Evans 2008). There remained, however, a disjunction between the objectives of the GSM Program and the academic and

employment outcomes for international students, which initially motivated this research study. Managing the transition from international student to migrant and skilled worker was based on a neoliberal construct assuming a smooth transition into the labour market to fill the desired occupational shortage, which was not always reflected in reality (Birrell & Healy 2013; Robertson 2015).

1.2   The Australian experience

The discussion of the four discourses is also in the context of significant structural changes that occurred in Australian workplaces throughout the 1990s. Award restructuring and the qualifications required to perform work focused on the breakthroughs in information technology. These necessitated higher levels of education (Dawkins 1989). The flow-on effects in the labour market, characterised by the information communication technology (ICT) revolution, were remarkable, particularly in relation to the growth of the internet (Castells 1996; Marginson 2008, pp. 303-304).

The Accord was an agreement between the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) and the Hawke Labor government in 1982 (Harcourt 1996; Ryan & Branston 2003). It committed the ACTU to minimised wages claims in exchange for increased government spending on social welfare, national occupational health and safety, and superannuation legislation as well as increased family benefits and targeted tax cuts (Ryan & Bramston 2003), referred to as "the social wage". It set in motion a revolutionary change in the industrial landscape in preparation for the challenges Australia faced as a post-industrialised economy. Concurrently, the former Minister for Education, Employment and Training, John Dawkins, created a second tier of universities from the former Colleges of Advanced Education, servicing regional and rural populations, such as greater Western Sydney, Bathurst and Ballarat. These regional universities were to play a key role in the international student debate from 2001 onwards (Marginson 2007c).

There was also a growing perception that trades occupations were no longer as desirable (Buchanon et al. 2006) and the expansion of enrolments in universities represented the aspirations of the upwardly mobile lower to middle classes in the outer rings of large cities. It also brought higher levels of school retention, greater access to bachelor degrees and wholesale skills shortages in many trade areas as young people deserted them as career options to gain a university education. A queuing mechanism began for domestic and international graduates (Mares 2010) to differentiate between job applicants; and in order to be more competitive, applicants were favoured if they had a second degree.

The Minister for Education, Employment and Training (Dawkins 1989) introduced reforms ensuring greater equity and accessibility to universities, but they would have posed a serious funding problem for successive governments. As a consequence, the Higher Education Contribution Scheme (HECS) was established. It was crafted as a deferred payment loan that would only come into effect when a student's income reached a certain point, when it would be repaid over time through the taxation system. In *AUSTUDY: towards a more flexible approach*, Bruce Chapman AO (1992), the architect of HECS, sought to reconcile a commitment to equity and access to education for those disadvantaged in the society with Government economic imperatives.

Furthermore, throughout the 1990s, as emerging debate questioned what had become academic capitalism and as funding to higher education continued to diminish as a core component of budgets (Slaughter & Leslie 1997, p. 1), universities found they needed to seek alternative sources of funds to compensate for the loss of government revenue. In 1996, the incoming coalition government embraced the opportunity to increase the number of international students, and between 1996 and 2003 income from international students rose from 6.6 per cent to 13.8 per cent of university budgets (Marginson & Eijkman 2007).

Throughout the past 20 years in higher education, Australia has been actively engaged in internationalisation at all levels. This includes research collaborations around the globe, courses and curricula, academic exchange and the exponential growth of international students. This latter phenomenon was not without debate, and commentators raised concerns about the quality of educational content and motivations of underfunded universities (Marginson 2007a, pp. 8-9). The proposal for international fee-paying students was first put forward in 1990 as a new export industry with the potential to increase economic activity and 'maximise industry competitiveness' for Australia (NBEET 1990, p. 2). Until then, international students were allowed to study in Australia as part of the government's commitment to developing nations in the region (Marginson 1993, p. 184). In a statement of their intention to cease supporting international students in the spirit of Commonwealth cooperation, the government stated:

> Australia could no longer see itself so much as a donor of education and training services to developing countries, a benefactor, but more as a partner where mutual benefits for individuals and countries is the desired outcome ... all new overseas students seeking study opportunities in Australia enter on a full cost basis. Thus, the student now either pays individually or has the fees paid by a private or government sponsor (NBEET 1990, p. 2).

Traditionally, immigration was associated with nation-building and was geared towards the need for greater numbers of unskilled labour, with migrant inflows being directed towards resources and infrastructure projects. Migration policy was also assessed on its capacity to provide the cultural, social, intellectual and economic needs of a growing nation, with an emphasis on permanent migration programs (Koleth 2010, p. 1). However, since 1999 Australia has experienced an economic and employment boom (Birrell & Healy 2008, p. 1) in the skilled and professional sectors (Koser 2009), while over this time domestic training has declined (Birrell & Healy 2008, p. 1) and funding to higher education has attenuated (Marginson & Eijkman 2007), exacerbating skills shortages in key industries (Birrell, Rapson & Healy 2005).

Both Liberal (conservative) and Labor Australian governments responded to skills shortages and a growing economy by doubling the skilled migration program (Koleth 2010) and by creating an export market for Australian qualifications to full fee-paying international students. In 2001, the then Minister for Immigration in the coalition government, Philip Ruddock, announced a review of temporary migration visas, citing the need for Australia to attract 'a highly mobile and lucrative workforce' (Ruddock 2001) of skilled migrants through a series of migration provisions that would benefit the economy and the social and cultural infrastructure of Australia. In the same year, the coalition government linked higher education policy reforms with migration policy by allowing international students to apply for permanent residency onshore once they had completed an Australian qualification in an identified skills shortage area (Birrell & Healy 2010, p. 66).

This policy affected a significant shift in Australian migration, from permanent settlement to long-term temporary migration for skilled migrants educated in Australia and subsequently eligible to apply for PR visas (Koleth 2010). The legislation facilitated the exponential growth of the international student industry because the conflation allowed international students access to the labour market based on a points system and a variety of alternate visas that allowed international students to stay and work in Australian (Markus et al. 2009). For example, the number of Indian students in all education sectors grew from 5,361 in 2001 to 60,082 in 2008, and across all nationalities the number of students doubled during the same period (Birrell & Perry 2009, p. 65).

Table 1: Overseas student commencements, all nationalities, by education sector, year to December 2002 to 2008

Sector	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Higher education	56,636	60,473	65,089	64,570	66,333	69,716	77,961
VET	29,408	30,230	32,056	37,314	48,461	72,622	105,752
Schools	12,272	12,510	11,320	10,408	11,104	13,599	14,446
ELICOS*	42,105	47,050	45,359	49,439	59,052	80,824	99,367
Other	19,824	21,370	21,517	21,957	22,076	22,842	26,076
Total	160,245	171,633	175,341	183,688	207,036	259,603	323,602

* English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students

Source: Birrell & Perry 2009, p. 65 – from Australian Education International (AEI) student commencements data, unpublished.

This policy nexus opened up markets for international students that were very profitable for tertiary education providers (Baird 2010; Birrell 2005). Statistics for the decade 2001–2010 reveal that the increase in the number of student visa holders was 13.9 per cent every year until 2009 (DIAC 2009c, p. 63). Despite the increase in skilled visas, there was a mismatch between graduate destinations and identified skills shortages (Birrell & Healy 2008, p. 1) whereby former international students were not being appointed to higher level or management positions (Arkoudis et.al. 2009).

The increased marketisation of higher education concerned some academics (Parker 2002), who worried about the impact that commercialising education would have on the core mission of universities. Nevertheless, the outcomes from merging migration and higher education policies to meet skills shortages was successful from the government's perspective, and the merger launched an export market worth billions of dollars to the Australian economy (Baird 2010; Birrell & Smith 2010). However, this unprecedented

growth of exporting Australia's higher education led to a crisis of international dimensions (Baird 2010; Wesley 2009).

The crisis that manifested in the VET sector arose from regulatory and market failures in the private VET market and was accompanied by incidences of violence against international students and the closure of many private colleges, leaving thousands of students stranded without courses (Baird 2010). For the purposes of this research, the public VET sector has been excluded (Baird 2010), despite the fact that it experienced all the same issues as the universities; the scope of such a study was too broad. The closure of private colleges and the violence experienced by some students were catalysts for widespread and organised protests by Indian and other international students in Melbourne and Sydney. The students expressed their frustration and anger over perceived racist attacks and attempted to reclaim some power and to have governments recognise their persecution and exploitation (Das 2009b). The violence against Indian students, in particular, sparked a serious foreign relations incident between Australia and India, and it threatened not only the education export industry but also Australia's reputation as a safe place to study and live. Described as 'the perfect storm', the stories that eventually emerged were nevertheless more complex and finely granulated than the those portrayed in the Indian media (Bahadur 2009, p. 1; D'Costa 2010) and elsewhere around the world.

1.3   Why do this study?

Interest in the topic of this research study was stimulated by work I conducted for an Australian university that had a shop-front campus in the central business district of a major city in Australia. The university was educating 6,000 international students in undergraduate and master's programs. I was head of careers services for the university's international campuses and therefore had the opportunity to interview and counsel more than a thousand students who registered with the service, over some years. During this decade, the Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA) commissioned Robert Birrell and colleagues (2006) to conduct an evaluation of the GSM Program. The evaluation (Birrell et al. 2006) identified a gap in knowledge about how the merged policies shaped the experiences of international students and how the implementation of the conflation distorted the fields of tertiary education towards migration and had unintended consequences for the labour market. While a majority of graduates interviewed for the evaluation reported that they were employed six months after they completed their courses, there was no guarantee they were working in the fields of nationally identified skills shortages (Baas 2006). Only a small minority had achieved a

job commensurate with their qualifications, and there was no evidence that they wanted to or would ever work in the industry areas in which they had studied (Birrell et. al. 2006, p. 87), because they were more attracted to permanent residency than to working in the field in in which they had studied, and this had shaped their behaviours and choices (Birrell & Healy 2008a).

I met many students who had a limited understanding of the skills that were needed to be an accountant or to work in information technology (IT). They had difficulty relating their studies to a position in the industry for which they were supposed to be training. The majority of the students were studying in courses that had high migration points and were listed on the Migration Occupation Demand List (MODL), a list of areas where there was a national shortage of skilled workers – students who were awarded qualifications in these areas gained bonus points towards PR visas (Birrell & Healy 2010, pp. 68-69). Anecdotally, students were open about their primary motivation being to gain permanent residency in Australia and not necessarily to become an accountant or work in IT. My motivation to research this disjunction further came from my role in preparing and matching graduates to vacancies in the labour market.

Most students were able to find casual work in the fast-food industry, hospitality and warehousing, although a few managed to gain paid employment in the fields they were studying. An important part of my role as a professional was to establish relationships with employers and recruitment companies. This led to a number of informal conversations with employers, recruitment companies and peak bodies about the supply of international students and what the market demanded for skilled graduates entering the occupations of accounting and IT. Further anecdotal evidence revealed that industry was reluctant to employ these students because their English language skills were low. Their degrees were not passports to paid employment working at the level of their educational qualifications or even for some lower levels in their discipline area (Birrell et al. 2006).

1.4   The focus of the investigation

The primary purpose of this research is to situate the conflation instrumentalised during the period 2001 to 2010 in Australia as a contribution to and symptomatic of the emergence of a global policy field of education (Lingard et al. 2005). By using the conceptual framework of Bourdieu's discourses and fields, the research investigates how the institutional and political structures of government utilised a global economic discourse to meet national and domestic agendas. The questions the research is focused on answering are:

What were the intended and unintended consequences of the conflation of migration policy and higher education policy? How did the conflation shape the experiences of international students in Australia?

In choosing to study the policy documents, including legislation and government reviews of the establishment and disestablishment of the conflation, the goal was to compare and contrast the intentions and rhetoric of the policies with the lived experiences of international students and those people working with them in various roles. Other scholars have studied higher education as a field from Bourdieu's perspective and drawn conclusions about the emerging global policy field of education (Lingard et al. 2005; Rawolle & Lingard 2008). This research seeks to discover to what extent the conflation, as a model of intersecting discourses and fields, contributes to and is symptomatic of the emergence of the global policy field in education. This area warrants further study, and the research has significance for the tertiary education sector and for government policy for international students in the future.

1.5   Research perspectives

The theoretical orientation adopted is that of Bourdieu's conceptual framework and 'thinking tools' (Rawolle & Lingard 2008, p. 729) and his methodological approaches to the analysis of the policy documents and semi-structured interviews. From this orientation, the researcher seeks to extend existing theorisation of international education as part of an 'emerging global policy field' in education (Lingard et al. 2005, p. 729).

This investigation uses two complementary research methods. The first is an analysis of the policy documents and government reviews related to the establishment and disestablishment of the conflation of higher education and migration. The second is a series of semi-structured interviews in the qualitative research tradition about international students' lives and how they are shaped by the policy conflation. This device allows for contrasting the realities constructed by policy and surrounding discourses with those of the social agents involved. A qualitative research approach has been selected because it is research that is naturalistic and located in the day-to-day environments of ordinary people (Denzin 1992, p. 19). The application of Bourdieu's conceptual framework to the discourses and fields opens up the possibilities of further theorising on global policy and its ramifications at local and national levels. The research also builds on the work of Naidoo (2004) as a model to base the exploration of the phenomenon of international students in Australia during the period of the conflation, because it presents a way of viewing higher

education as a fluid and negotiated field within a society (Marginson 2009). The alignment between research theory and design, and knowledge discovery is not necessarily lineal; the use of qualitative research focuses on the processes of social change as a dialogue (Denzin 1992, p. 19).

1.6   Overview of the chapters

Chapter 1: Context and orientation of the research

Chapter 1 introduced the thesis on higher education that encompasses the years 2001 to 2010, when migration policy was conflated with higher education policy, which allowed large intakes of international students to universities and other tertiary institutions. The research is conceptualised within a framework of four discourses and three fields, based on the theoretical concepts of Bourdieu. The discourses identified reflect the world trends that are shaping and influencing governments and economies, while the research perspective focuses on socially structured fields which overlap and come into conflict with each other.

Chapter 2: Literature review

Chapter 2 reviews the scholarly writing and commentary around the discourses of globalisation, neoliberal marketisation, migration and mobility of international students, and introduces the key scholars in the field of the research study. The literature review places the research in Australian higher education and focuses on contemporary theorists writing about the relationship between international students and migration.

Chapter 3: Theoretical framework and methodology

Chapter 3 describes the theoretical foundations of the research design and methodology utilised in order to theorise the transformations and the emergence of technology and globalisation in today's society (Held et al. 1999) from a Bourdieuian perspective (Bourdieu 2002; 2003). Bourdieu's concept of the field of higher education provides an understanding of the field as a cognitive and structural mechanism that mediates socio-political and economic forces, while simultaneously reproducing fundamental principles of social stratification. Bourdieu built his conceptual apparatus on the core concepts of fields, capitals, strategies, habitus and agents as constructs that function fully only in relation to each other (Bourdieu 1986). Bourdieu's framework may therefore be widely applied to develop an analytical understanding of institutional strategies and help transcend more simplistic conceptions of 'universities as closed systems detached from the sociopolitical complex' of society or just 'reflections of external power relations' (Naidoo 2004, p. 457).

This study utilises Bourdieu's concepts of fields, capitals, position-taking and strategies (Bourdieu 1986, 1993, 1996b).

Chapter 4: Document and analysis review

Chapter 4 is the chronology of the establishment and the disestablishment that expedited the inflow of fee-paying international students to Australia between 2001 and 2010. It analyses the documents and reviews generated by governments from 2001 to 2010. This was a series of policy reforms that altered the character and shape of the migration program in Australia from permanent to temporary long-term (Koleth 2010, p. 1; Markus, Jupp & McDonald 2009, p. 10). The chapter analyses the power relations, struggles and competing forces between the fields as they are revealed in the development and implementation of the policies. This kind of material documentary analysis is 'a very useful tool … and an indispensable one, particularly when the research is focused on past events' (Liamputtong & Ezzy 2005, p. 79). The chapter thus provides a historical record of policy evolution.

This chapter is not a textual analysis but a critical chronology of a series of legislative instruments and reviews that maps the establishment and disestablishment of the conflation of migration and education. The analysis draws attention to the process of policy production and development and takes account of negotiated spaces between the policymakers and their intentions in the fields of government and central policy communities, and the impacts of the implementation by agents in the fields of higher education and VET, and migration impact, which distorted both fields (Maton 2005).

Chapter 5: Semi-structured interviews

Chapter 5 juxtaposes the findings from the document analysis in Chapter 4 with a series of semi-structured interviews with two international students and the people who work with them in various ways, by linking their reflections and judgements about skilled migration and international higher education. The semi-structured interviews are presented to identify further knowledge of the field of international education in order to open up new thinking and ideas on the conflation of skilled migration and international education policies in Australia. The chapter introduces the respondents, giving their backgrounds and relevance to the research, and sets the scene for drawing conclusions in Chapter 6. The content of the interview transcripts is analysed for broad themes and the differences between them. It juxtaposes the learning and insights gained with the background of the document analysis provided in Chapter 4. This allows more complex meanings to surface in a non-

deterministic way and also allows for the changing identities of international students such as student/worker and student/migrant to surface (Baas 2006; Robertson 2015).

Chapter 6: Discussion

This chapter is the discussion that ranges over the findings of the thesis. It highlights the intended and unintended consequences of the conflated policies, especially the outcomes for international students and the higher education system in Australia. Chapter 6 explicates the contribution the research makes to the field of international higher education by using Bourdieu's conceptual framework (1993, 1986) to explain how national fields are shaped and positioned by global discourses and how international students within a neoliberal interpretation of the market are universalised and commoditised by the four discourses outlined in Chapter 1. It does this by demonstrating a model of marketised international education and migration developed and promoted by global policy communities as an extension of a global policy field of education. This field is where powerful circulating discourses of globalisation, neoliberalism, migration and international student mobilities intersect and shape the policy structures, assumptions and consequences in three fields in Australia mediating the phenomenon of international students.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

Chapter 7 identifies the contribution this thesis makes to the field of higher education as a result of mapping the particular convergence of higher education and migrations policies in Australia between 2001 and 2010. The research explores the interaction between the discourses and how they are played in the fields, with the view to making a specific contribution to a broader field of education policy using the analysis of the conflation to demonstrate the intended and unintended consequences as symptomatic of the design of policies in global communities that are implemented at national and local levels. The chapter therefore seeks to demonstrate that the conflation of both contributes to and is symptomatic of an emergent global policy field of education emanating from the neoliberal discourse of global policy communities such as the OECD (Lingard et al. 2005).

The power of discourses to reformulate and redefine social agendas and social worlds is such that they are constitutive of a new reality. However, they can be challenged through critical analysis. In the act of identifying, analysing and problematising these discourses, one may demystify and defuse their collective power (Bourdieu 1999, 2002, 2003).

In Australia, as elsewhere, higher education has been undergoing significant reform since the 1990s. This stimulus to change is a reflection of meta-trends such as internationalisation (de Wit 1997) and globalisation. The circulating discourses connected with those trends have expedited the evolution of a new, global knowledge economy (Castells 1996). Foremost of these discourses are globalisation and neoliberalism, in particular the marketisation of higher education and increased market behaviours in the field of universities (Slaughter & Leslie 1997, p. 4). Universities are now being managed and governed as businesses through new management principles (Deem 2001; Marginson 2007a, p. 8) and are responsible for the production of knowledge as a commodity of the global economy (Delanty 2001; Smith 1995). Through the ideological and political convergence of globalisation, migration and the marketisation of international students in Australia, a multibillion-dollar export industry for cross-border degrees has been created. It is hoped that this research will contribute to the field of international higher education by mapping the development of a marketised system of international education, the policy intentions that created it and the unintended consequences for government, universities and international students.

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.1   Introduction

The research is set in the context of a historical narrative of worldwide progression to a post-industrial, neoliberal economic model (Bourdieu 2002; Held et al. 1999; Marginson 2007, pp. 5-6). Globalisation and neoliberalism are central topics of the thesis as the phenomena that are shaping and impacting on higher education (Burbules & Torres 2000; Green 1997; Marginson 2007a, 2007b) through marketisation and commoditisation of universities (Ball 2004; Deem 2001; Hayes & Wynyard 2002; Preston 2002; Smith 2002) and through migration and international student mobility (Marginson 2007a, 2008, p. 303; Robertson 2015, p. 1), which are complementary discourses.

This literature review establishes what is known in the field of higher education and contextualises and justifies the research by revealing a gap in the development of theorisation of a global policy field of education based the work of Bourdieu (Marginson 2008, p. 304; Naidoo 2004, p. 468). The chapter comprises a review of scholarly writing and commentary around the key discourses identified in Chapter 1: globalisation, neoliberalism, migration and international student mobility (Altbach & Knight 2007; Baas 2010; Burbules & Torres 2000; Hayes & Wynyard 2002; Held et al. 1999; Hugo 2004; McDonald 2005; Slaughter & Leslie 1997) and the policy developments in higher education in Australia that were influenced by associated discourses. The confluence of the discourses is revealed in policy prescriptions for higher education because of the direct connection between education, economic growth and migration (McDonald & Temple 2008; OECD 2000) that manifested as the nexus between international students and migration opportunities for them. This research aims to make an original contribution to the field by providing specific examples of the transmutation of global policy discourses into national and local settings for international students and migrant visas in Australia that contribute to and are symptomatic of the global policy field of education.

Events that occurred in Australia during the period 2001 to 2010, when higher education and migration policies were conflated, are the focus of the thesis. The most consistent theorisation on international students in Australia has been done by Bob Birrell and his colleagues from Monash University (2001, 2003, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2013), while significant theorisation about globalisation and its nexus with international education in Australia has been done by Marginson and colleagues (2000, 2003, 2005,

2007a, 2007b, 2008, 2010; Marginson & Rhoades 2002; Marginson & Sawir 2005; Marginson & van der Wende 2009).

The experience of the conflation, and the impact of these policies on international students, is theorised. The literature review facilitates identification of other recent scholarly research that analyses the education and migration nexus with regard to international students, particularly Indians, in Australia (Baas 2006, 2007, 2010; Deumert et al. 2005; Forbes-Mewett 2005; Nyland & Forbes-Mewett 2009; Robertson 2011, 2013, 2015). The claims made in these studies are explored further in a series of semi-structured interviews.

Higher education, as the locus of knowledge production and the knowledge economy, is set within the emergent phenomenon of globalisation and allows the discourses to be reconciled and explained in terms of the progression of a global economic model based on the neoliberal philosophy of marketisation (Held et al. 1999; Held & McGrew 2002; Sennett 2006). Scholars Altbach and Knight (2007, 2008) argue that globalisation and internationalisation are separate, but that both shape the field of higher education in a manner that is interdependent and symbiotic (Altbach & Knight 2007; Knight 2013; Marginson & van der Wende 2009). While Slaughter and Leslie (1997) contend that universities were once separated from labour, other scholars argue they are now integral to the economy and have been reshaped as businesses that are governed and managed for the production of knowledge as a commodity (Jarvis 2001; Marginson & Considine 2000; Rust & Jacob 2005; Sabour 2005).

Importantly, this chapter introduces the research of Lingard, Rawolle and Taylor (2005), Rawolle (2005), Rawolle and Lingard (2008), Maton (2005), Naidoo (2004) and Marginson (2007), whose theorisations on globalisation, neoliberalism and the field of higher education convincingly link the ideas of global scapes and flows (Appadurai 1996; Marginson 2008) to the development of a global policy field of education using Bourdieu's conceptual tools of fields, capitals, position-taking and strategies – all components of national and global fields put forward by Bourdieu, including in his later political works (1999, 2002, 2004).

This research is positioned to expand on theorisation on an emergent, global policy field of education because the origins of the conflation, as a policy taken up by Australia, derives from work done by global policy communities such as the OECD, the United Nations Organisation for Education, Science and Culture, and the World Bank (Lingard et al. 2005, p. 768; OECD 2001, 2004) based on the dominant orthodoxy of neoliberal marketisation

of higher education (Lingard et al. 2005; Rawolle 2007; Marginson 2007, 2008; Maton 2005; Naidoo 2004; Rawolle & Lingard 2008). These policy prescriptions were designed to legitimate certain approaches as 'naturally superior' to others in a 'unified, global world' (Bourdieu 1993, p. 24; Marginson 2007b, p. 310). The discourse surrounding the marketisation of higher education tends to de-emphasise political and social engagement in favour of the economy (Considine 2002; Monbiot 2000; Slaughter & Leslie 1997, p. 34), and some scholars argue it diminishes state autonomy (Deem 2001; Frank 2002).

2.2   Australian higher education

In Australia, the growth of international students was triggered by the unprecedented global integration of trade in goods and services and the need of governments to use the opportunity that globalisation provided to solve domestic policies of the welfare state as well as to promote national economic growth (Blackman 2008). As Blackman suggests, the arc of public policy involves long-term planning because it is predicated on life-cycle social policies of dependencies and the social issues that arise therein (Blackman 2008, p. 441). The trade in international education was also linked to the steady decline in public funding for universities and as a result, over the period 2001–2010, international students came to constitute 25 per cent of all higher education enrolments and Australia's third largest export industry (Birrell & Smith 2010; Marginson 2007c; Wesley 2009).

Marginson and colleagues have undertaken extensive analysis of Australian higher education in the context of a rapidly globalising world (2005, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c; Marginson & van der Wende 2009). In addition, he has written important pieces exploring the work of Bourdieu, theorising fields and position-taking in relation to universities in Australia and globally (2007c; 2008).

The decision to conflate policies (Koleth 2010, pp. 1-2) was informed by a number of factors, including a globalising economy, an ageing workforce, widespread skills shortages and a diminishing tax base (Access Economics 2009a; Keating & Smith 2010; Robertson 2015, p. 5; Skills Australia 2010). Similarly, other OECD nations, such as the United Kingdom and Canada (Altbach & Knight 2007, pp. 294-99; Robertson 2015), instituted immigration policies to fill their labour market needs and stimulate their economies, and these policies were in response to worldviews particular to Western countries. This has had the effect of encouraging greater numbers of non-English-speaking, full fee-paying students into universities (Birrell & Healy 2008, 2010; Knight 2008; Marginson 2007b).

Marginson (2007) and Currie and Newson (1998) contend that the impetus for government policy reform in higher education had been to reduce government funding and to shift the onus of responsibility for the costs onto the individual (Marginson 2007a, p. 5). This directional shift, however, is symptomatic of a broad societal change in Western democracies away from the welfare state model to an emergent social compact conferring greater responsibility for post-secondary school education and personal growth on citizens (Currie and Newson 1998).

Tickell and Peck (2015) claim that the force behind globalisation is the ideology of neoliberal capitalism, which attributes primacy to the free market and is underpinned by the belief that all adults have an inalienable right to pursue their own welfare and individual freedom through their choices in the marketplace (Pusey 1991). The emphasis and privilege accorded to economics over all other forms of human and environmental interactions, and often in detriment to state intervention or regulation, is a hallmark of neoliberal capitalism (Ball 2004; Ball et al. 2007; Ritzer 2000; Sennett 2006). The emphasis placed on the relationship between individual wealth potential and the national economy is consistent with this ideology, which assumes that economic choices are purely driven by self-interest and are value-free (Hayek 1967a).

2.3   Theorising trends in globalisation

There is debate concerning the degree to which globalisation has accelerated the pace of growth in world market economies, and scholars are divided on what globalisation is and how it might be accurately theorised and defined. In *Global Transformations: Politics, economics and culture*, Held et al. (1999) provide a useful framework for analysis by defining it thus: 'Globalisation may be thought of initially as the widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life' (p. 2). For their part, Carnoy and Castells (1993) theorised the transformation from an industrialised world to a post-industrialised global economy, with the merging of knowledge production and the economy to create the new knowledge economy (Carnoy & Castells 1993; Deem 2001; Marginson 2008). Universities, claim Marginson (2007c) and Slaughter and Leslie (1997), became the vector for the convergence of powerful ideas and discoveries in the physical sciences and IT (Odin & Mancius 2004; Rust & Jacobs 2005). Furthermore, universities came to be seen as integral to this development and have since been increasingly modelled as businesses designed and managed for the production of knowledge and as the currency of globalised trade between counties and nations through

free trade agreements (Held et al. 1999, pp. 2-3; Knight 2013, p. 292; Smith 2002; Smith & Webster 1999).

Led by authors such as Fukuyama (1989), a number of theorists argue that globalisation is an 'ineluctable force' set within the powerful sweep of history and manifestly the ultimate 'victory of capitalism' (Fukuyama 1989, p. xii). Irrespective of the axiological reference and hyperbole, globalisation is firmly rooted in political processes and comes about because of the ideological and pragmatic decisions made by the leaders and political parties of trading countries and nations (Bourdieu 1999; Held et al. 1999). From Bourdieu's position, globalisation is a process of concentrated statecraft (Bourdieu 2002).

Globalisation expresses itself in the geopolitical environment as a propulsion towards trade liberalisation, the deregulation of the banking and finance industries, and the exponential growth of information communication technology (ICT) by industries and governments (Castells 1996; Gill 1995; Thompson 1998). The mechanism for the unprecedented growth of globalised markets is the communication technology revolution that conjoins multiple, tributary technologies, such as the World Wide Web (Castells 1996, 2000; Marginson 2008).

The genealogy of globalisation, however, is epitomised by the power of ideas and their transmission through space and time embodying a 'global culture' (Marginson 2008, p. 303). The concept of a globalised world is diffused through the worldwide ubiquity of movies, television, popular culture and music, just as the idea of the inevitability of progress was (Marginson 2008, pp. 303-304). However, it has been heightened, intensified and accelerated via technology and electronic multimedia (Castells 1996, 2000; Friedman 2004; Strange 1996). Marginson describes the global dimension as a multiplicity of bilateral connections: 'There are networked, global systems with commonalities, points of concentration (nodes), rhythms, speeds and modes of movement' (Marginson 2008, p. 303).

It is in this context that Held and co-authors make an important contribution to defining globalisation, by providing a conceptual framework which interprets, analyses and makes sense of the disparate discourses surrounding the notion of a globally connected world. The authors trace the trends and fault lines in the current debate, dividing theorists into three distinct categories: hyperglobalisers, transformationalists and sceptics. The theorisations of hyperglobalisers, such as Rosenau (1998) and Slaughter (2004), on the effects of a new world order are problematic because they disaggregate government from the market and

suggest that the market would be a better arbiter of traditional government spheres, such as the public service and delivery of public goods, including higher education (Held et al. 1999, p. 2; Marginson 2003). The complexity and interconnectedness of globalisation, the transformationalists argue, is the vehicle for re-engineering the paradigm of governance of nation states, whereby they utilise more elastic transnational networks in order to operate in an increasingly global world (Held et al. 1999, pp. 7-9; Ladeur 2004).

In contradistinction to both the hyperglobalisers and the transformationalists, the sceptics theorise in terms of globalisation taking place within a historical continuum, one that has peaks and troughs and is manifestly economic in character. While hyperglobalisers and transformationalists differ only in their accounts of causation, periodisation and trajectory, the sceptics posit globalisation as the natural progression and extrapolation of global trading partners flexing their economic power (Held et al. 1999, pp. 2-4). Finally, sceptics claim that, rather than a coalescing, inflationary force, globalisation is really internationalisation of trade on a larger canvas, while nation states firmly retain their hegemonies (Held et al. 1999, pp. 9-10). The sceptics devalue the claims that globalisation will lead to a new global world order less constrained and contingent upon national particularities (Giddens 1999). They argue instead that regional interests and a now triangulated world trading bloc serve the ends of participating governments, but these are not their end game (Held et al. 1999, pp. 4, 9-10; Thompson & Allen 1999).

Theorists such as Urry (2000) and Mann (2000) describe social mobilities and layered networks across the globe comprising five socio-spatial networks that operate at an international and global level. Particularly, with higher education they are local, national, international, transnational and global (Lingard et al. 2005, p. 761; Mann 2000). However, the mechanism for the unprecedented growth of globalised markets is the communication technology revolution that conjoins multiple, tributary technologies such as the internet with digitised banking and financial transactions, expediting the massive transfers of capital globally (Marginson 2008; Marginson & van der Wende 2009;).

Appadurai (1996) and Castells (2000) describe globalisation as a pattern of scapes and flows: for Appadurai there are ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes, financescapes and ideoscapes (Appadurai 1996; Lingard et al. 2005, pp. 761, 764; Marginson 1993); while for Castells there are global flows of capital, information, technologies, organisational flows and cultural flows of symbols, images and sounds (Castells 1996). The advantage of these conceptualisations of the movement of social, economic, political and cultural capitals around the world is that they better describe the massive and suffusive

transmissions of people, technologies, ideas, finances and imaginaries in a globally connected world. Arguably, a critique would point to the universalising images and language that preclude instances, particularity or sets of unique or individualised events.

For Bourdieu, power is mobilised within and between fields – fields being distinctive 'modes of domination', including world economic domination expressed as neoliberal ideology compounded through global governance and policy world systems (Bourdieu 1999, 2002). Bourdieu's theorising is useful as a method for better understanding the new social compacts being forged between governments and for analysing the trends that are creating the worldwide convergence of political and socio-economic determinations (Maton 2005, p. 698). Bourdieu argued:

> The constitution of the national economy was an overt political and historical project and thus the creation of a global economic market is a political construct that refers to the "unification of the global economic field and the expansion of that field to the entire world" (Bourdieu 2003, p. 84).

Globalisation, for theorists such as Held and colleagues (1999), Bourdieu (2002), Marginson (2007, 2008), Currie and Newson (1998) and Zajda (2005), is viewed within a wider arc of history in order to theorise it in highly nuanced, complex, convoluted and patterned ways and as contemporaneously evolving on many levels in many nations (Held et al. 1999, pp. 2, 15). Despite a predisposition by hyperglobalisers to cast globalisation in a deterministic light prefigured by a democratic ideal of prosperity and social mobility, the tableau of globalisation is historically defined as generational and set in the universality of push–pull geopolitics, conflicts, world trade, massive world events and the ubiquity of transmission of popular culture through new media platforms (Held et al. 1999, pp. 12-14; Laudeur 2004).

By the mid-1990s, economics had become the master discourse (Chappell 1999; Marginson 2008) subsuming all other theories into a pervasive epistemology of market capitalism, one which is characterised as disrupting the partnership relationship between government, higher education and industry to deliver economic policy that posits the market as the final arbiter of all transactions within the polity and the social whole (Hayes & Wynyard 2002; Marginson 1993, p. xii; Preston 2002; Ritzer 2008).

Chapter 2

2.4   Elision of neoliberalism and globalisation

Tickell and Peck (2015) theorise that while globalisation and neoliberalism coexist and elide, they are not identical either theoretically or historically (Tickell and Peck 2015, p. 1). The former is an economic narrative of compelling simplicity and the latter is a political construction of the state (2015, p. 2). Economic geographers, they argue, have long challenged the totalising prescriptions of neoliberal globalisation (Dicken 1994, 1998) that claim 'flat-earth' conceptions based on unmediated market hegemony and cultural homogenisation. Both globalisation and neoliberalism are contested, nationally defined, asymmetrical and politically negotiated (Bourdieu 2002, 1999) and are not the result of an omniscient hidden hand (Tickell & Peck 2015, p. 2).

The elision between globalisation and neoliberalism allows them to be theorised as mutually referential and integrated with global economic competition. The power and autonomy ceded to private corporations that take hegemonic positions with scripted outcomes defined as benign and apolitical have become a new orthodoxy (Bourdieu 2002, 2003). The discourses of hyperglobalisation (Cox 1997; Gill 1995; Strange 1996), of the supposedly inexorable power of globalisation, have been reused by politicians to further particular neoliberal policies, such as decisions to privatise public goods and services and to deregulate financial and labour markets.

The discourses of globalisation and neoliberalism are generative and self-replicating, ever becoming that of which they speak (Bourdieu 2003), and projecting a certainty that devalues criticism as being 'out-dated' and 'unrealistic' (Tickell & Peck 2015, p. 2). Bourdieu, in his later political writings (1999, 2002, 2003, 2004), conceptualised globalisation as a politically mediated reality or condition that nation states determine in concretised trade compacts underwritten by their own economic and social imperatives (Bourdieu 2002).

Globalisation is thus not a glorious end state (Held et al. 1999), nor is neoliberalism an essential doctrine of truth, but rather 'a contingently realised process' that is affected via 'mobilisation of state power in the contradictory extension and reproduction of market (like) rule' (Held et al. 2015, p. 4; Bourdieu 2002). That rule is the product of statecraft that exists in fields that are complex, multifaceted and often contradictory, and yet obtain 'a perplexing degree of political adaptability, institutional durability and organisational creativity' (Held et al.2015, p. 4).

Neoliberal discourses use simplified rhetoric about a 'logical, historical and philosophical superiority of markets', belying the fact they are government 'steered and policed' (Tickell & Peck 2015, p. 5) or, as stated:

> It is axiomatic, according to neoliberalism, that the absence of state intervention is the market, that market failures are never failures of the market per se and, therefore they can only ever be failures of the state … The political consequence of this view is the drive to deregulate… [Yet] the neoliberalist version of 'less state' is entirely illusory. Neoliberalism is a self-contradicting theory of the state. The geographies of product, finance and labour markets that it seeks to construct require qualitatively different, not less, state action. Neo-liberalism is a political discourse which impels rather than reduces state action (O'Neill quoted in Tickell & Peck 2015, p. 5).

Tickell and Peck argue that neoliberalism is anything but a 'coherent, singular and unchanging project' (Tickell & Peck 2015, p. 12), but rather the project of neo-classically trained, liberal economists and the global collectives of policy communities like the OECD, the World Bank and the World Trade Organization, which has led to the normalisation of neoliberalism and its promotion as the dominant dispensation of technocratic and managerialist statecraft (Lingard et al. 2005, p. 762; Tickell & Peck 2015, p. 15). At the same time, economic discourse has become a specialist discipline concentrated in these global policy communities as a system of inviolable policy position-takings (Marginson 2007c, pp. 5-7; Tickell & Peck 2015, p. 17). Moreover, the failures of neoliberalism include 'serial market and governance failures, social disintegration, environmental degradation, unsustainable growth' and the progressive colonisation of fields and institutions with a 'coercive and constitutive force' (Tickell & Peck 2015, pp. 20-21).

2.5   World trends in higher education

The border between industry and academia first became more permeable at the junction of research and development during the 1980s. It was during this period that multinational companies in advanced economies began searching for competitive advantage over emerging Asian economies by investing in new technologies being developed by universities (Slaughter & Leslie 1997, pp. 6-7). This increased investment was the catalyst for convergence between physical science and technologies such as genetics, biotechnology, fibre optics and nuclear technology, harnessed and accelerated by a burgeoning growth in IT and computerisation. For example, multinational corporations in

the United States supplied 45 per cent of funding for biotechnology, while government spending on research was slowing down (Slaughter & Leslie 1997, p. 7).

Throughout the 1990s, the economic expansion created by industrial and technological changes and expedited by deregulation of trade restrictions opened up global markets and meant that industry could meet their needs with qualified and skilled workers (Hugo 2004). The pressure to compete and the growing skills shortages in specialised areas meant higher credentials were needed for many occupations. Indeed, a degree became mandatory for a range of occupations which previously did not require a higher education qualification. For governments, industry and the higher education sector in many advanced Western countries, this nexus between skills shortages and higher education resulted in migration policies to attract a large population of fee-paying students from non-English-speaking countries who would have access to residency by studying at a tertiary level (Knight 2008, 2013). These policies were a response to the globalisation of higher education and were crafted for multiple domestic purposes in a globalised economic environment that positioned countries to compete for international students and obliged them to remodel their universities along market lines (Marginson 2007b, 2007c).

Marginson (2007b, 2008) provides a theoretical bridge to explore the work of Bourdieu on higher education (1984, 1988, 1993, 1996) as 'arguably ... the most sustained of any major social theorist' (Marginson 2008, p. 304). He goes on to say that Bourdieu's notions of fields of power, agency and position-taking have taken on a sharpened focus and relevancy in terms of globalisation and 'the dynamics of Bourdieu's competitive field of higher education' (Marginson 2008, p. 303). Marginson acknowledges the global dimension of higher education as constituting an integral part of the technological flow or convergence of communications and networks (Castells 1996) creating a global space of human interactions (Marginson 2008, pp. 303-304).

The connection of higher education as a 'social universe' (Marginson 2008, p. 304) to the flow of global capitals heightens the case for a global education policy field, enhanced by the mass of 'bilateral connections' and 'networked global systems with commonalities, points of concentration (nodes), rhythms, speeds and modes of movement … and converging approaches to recognition and quality assurance' (Marginson 2008, p. 303). Furthermore, the key elements of these global flows in the higher education field of power are 'cross-border flows', including people, ideas, finances, policies, information, research, intellectual capitals and institutions (Marginson 2008, p. 304). For example, the flow of international students worldwide rose by 1.4 million in the decade from 1995 to 2004

(OECD 2006, p. 287), and research partnerships and collaborations have risen exponentially (Marginson 2008, p. 304).

Other scholars such as Lingard, Rawolle and Taylor (2005), Naidoo (2004), Rawolle (2005) and Maton (2005) have theorised that an emergent, global education policy field using Bourdieu's conceptual framework and field of power now has broader application because of its plasticity and incisiveness, which is as universal as it is particularised (Marginson 2007).

Each field has its own structure, function, agents and logics of practice, and the intercourse between agents and fields is 'asynchronous, contingent and disjunctive' (Marginson 2008, p. 313). Following Bourdieu, it is argued here that state power is not diminishing but remains robust, hierarchical and self-determining (Bourdieu 2003) and that states, through the apparatus of their bureaucracies, retain ultimate power. As Bourdieu observed, 'It is in the realm of symbolic production that the grip of the state is felt most powerfully' (Bourdieu 1998c, p. 38). The state comprises the political field and more (Bourdieu 1998c, p. 47), thus according to Bourdieu 'it is the site par excellence of the concentration and exercise of symbolic power' that is then codified in forms of symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1998c, p. 51).

Lingard and colleagues (2005) extend Bourdieu's work on an incomplete theory of fields and with Rawolle (2005) explore the concept of cross-field effects and how the field of education has been altered by the global discourses of economics and regimes of regulation (Lingard et al. 2005, p. 767). Additionally, they see the theorising as an extension of the work by Ball (1990, 1994) on the policy cycle model and on the first-order and second-order effects of policy.

Cross-field effects increasingly occur within the field of education policy through the mediatisation and politicisation of government policies, where the release of the policy is synchronous with the media release (Lingard et al. 2005, p. 770; Rawolle 2005). Lingard, Rawolle and Taylor (2005) have utilised Bourdieu's foundational concepts to theorise the effects of globalisation of policy development in the emerging 'global field of educational policy' (Lingard et al. 2005, p. 761) because prescriptions for higher education make a direct connection between education, economic growth and migration (Green 1997; OECD 2000, 2004). This thesis examines the cross-field effects of the market for international students and migration on the fields of universities and government.

Rajani Naidoo (2004) explores the role of the state in her research of the university sector in South Africa using Bourdieu's conceptual framework and methodological approach. While Naidoo concludes that there are gaps in a general theory of fields, she invites further research in this area (Naidoo 2004, pp. 460, 469). Bourdieu's understanding of the field of higher education, not only as a system for the reproduction of social class hierarchies, but also as a product of permanent conflict (Bourdieu 1993, p. 35), speaks to the powerful forces impacting on the field from other fields, such as the economic field (Rawolle 2005), as well as to the structuring effects of globalisation and regulatory regimes from the field of the market (Naidoo 2004, p. 469) and neoliberal policies and principles (Considine & Marginson 2000; Deem 2001; Marginson 2008; Slaughter & Leslie 1997).

In characterising the phenomenon of competition, Naidoo (2016) borrows from the insights of anthropology, political economy and psychoanalysis to deploy the term 'fetish' to describe a construct that has 'colonised our world' (Naidoo 2016, p. 1). A fetish is 'a belief in something that has the powers to make our dreams come true', however it may also protect us from harm and 'provide a solution to all problems' (Ibid 2016, p. 1). By creating a worldwide market for higher education we have become 'trapped in magical thinking which fetishizes competition' (Naidoo 2016, p. 1). Naidoo's argument extends the power of neo-liberal ideology and economic systems thinking into the realm of the mythic whereby competition itself takes on quasi-magical properties to become 'a natural force that is independent of human agency'; thus a fetish becomes imbued with numinous powers and meaning (Naidoo 2016, p. 1).

Naidoo and her colleagues (Naidoo 2008; Naidoo et al. 2014; Naidoo & Jamieson 2005), have argued that higher education institutionalizes government sponsored marketisation, consumerism and competition in the struggle for competitive dominance in world rankings. In 'Leadership and branding in business schools: A Bourdieuian analysis' Naidoo et al argue (2014, p. 126-7) that universities strive for positional advantage and that competition is a core political tool in such marketisation. However, Naidoo contends that rather than creating a more competitive cohort of intellectually independent students: 'We argue that the marketisation of learning may result in passive and instrumental learners, a reduction in the range of disciplinary knowledge and a deterrence of innovation in teaching practices, all of which impact on the public good functions of universities' (Naidoo 2010, p. 429). Students are therefore 'conceptualized 'as consumers in an industry whose product is knowledge (Naidoo et al. 2014, p. 47).

The generation of the knowledge economy enlists universities to produce, reproduce and sell knowledge products in a globally competitive market for the purposes of advancing the state and the national economy. Resistance or opposition to discourses conflating national interest and economic success with marketised universities competing on a global field for dominance maybe interpreted as unpatriotic – a powerful and coercive tool of persuasion for faculties and individuals.

Competition borrows legitimacy from the Bourdieuian concept of scientific capital (Naidoo et al. 2014, p. 47-48). Branding is designed to make universities seem more competitive by building stronger reputational capital derived from rankings and metrics and the quality of their academics. This theoretical development of a fetishistic dimension of competition progresses her previous arguments of a reified state that mobilises market conditions in universities by creating the structures and conditions for competition within the field (Naidoo 2016 p. 2).

Contrary to Naidoo's idea of the shamanic state, for Olsen and Peters (2005), the state is a political and social actor engaged in transitioning higher education to the knowledge economy, converting scientific capital into knowledge capitalism (Olson & Peters 2005, p. 313). For governments around the world, knowledge capitalism is 'the new starship in the policy fleet' (Ibid 2005, p. 313). Olson & Peters discuss the development of performative techniques of management, auditing and accounting that constitute forms of political power, what Bourdieu calls 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu et al. *1999*) – market mechanisms and disciplinary technologies are used to achieve specific ends; for example, the hegemony of the neo-liberal market model (Ibid 2005, p. 314).

Marginson draws on Bourdieu's work about the field of government and the field of education when describing debate in Australia:

> Education debate in this country is a series of ritualised combats from entrenched positions. But I am convinced that education … is important in its own right, rather than the means to the election of one or another governments or a new way of making money (Marginson 2003, p. xiii).

The position-taking by governments as a policy response to the need for more skilled workers for a growing economy was to conflate migration and higher education policies. This position was strengthened by a cross-field effect from reduced core funding to the tertiary sector, which drove it to seek alternative sources of revenue in the form of full fee-

paying international students (Marginson 2007a; Marginson & Eijkman 2008). For its part, the international student industry responded strongly to the demand created by a shortfall in university funding and Australia's migration policies (Birrell & Healy 2010, pp. 68-69), which were coupled with aggressive marketing by both university and private recruiters in those countries sending students to study in Australia.

Wynyard and Hayes (2002) labelled the shift to commoditisation the 'McDonaldisation' of higher education and society (Hayes & Wynyard 2002; Rust & Jacob 2005). Within the education sector discourses around the need for congruity of higher education, economic performance and skills development are foregrounded as the necessary formula for higher workforce productivity and growth (OECD 2000; Standing 1999). The OECD, for example, specifically promulgated the benefits of globalisation (Lingard et al. 2005, pp. 762-763) and of greater accountability and increased efficiency in support of the privatisation of state services and assets. The reformulation of higher education was to be designed along the same lines as an export product (Breneman 1993b; OECD 1987, 2004a):

> The development of contemporary economies depends crucially on the knowledge, skills and attitudes of their workforces – in short on human capital. In many respects human capital has become even more important in recent years ... a basic policy goal permeating education in all countries is to increase productivity of all human resources so as to enable more valuable output of work and thus allow higher wages and or profits in the economy as a whole (OECD 1987, p. 69).

Preston (2002), Furedi (2002) and Smith and Webster (1997) have argued that the globalisation of the political economies of many countries is systematically re-engineering patterns of professional work within universities with new managerial norms and practices (Furedi 2002; Marginson & Considine 2000). Preston (2002), Smyth (1995) and Finkelstein (2002) claim that universities are undergoing a crisis of meaning.

Universities were impacted when the growth of science and technology, supported by multinational money, formed a post-industrial landscape that challenged the historical typology of a social compact between universities and the community at large to deliver a liberal education (Slaughter & Leslie 1997, p. 4; Jarvis 2001). Within the decade of the 1990s, principles around freedom of inquiry and the highest expressions of human intellectual capacity and discovery became simplistic discourses of production function and human capital theory (Ball et al. 2007; Becker 1962; Ferrier & Mackenzie 2002).

Others scholars pointed to the impact of commodification and marketisation of university courses and research as well as the regulatory regimes for accounting and auditing that accompanied them (Ball 2000; Burbules & Torres 2000; Deem 2001). They claim these shifted the missions of universities to business survival rather than to meet the intellectual, social, cultural, political *and* economic needs of their communities, thus further eroding the discrete institutional integrity they once held (Breneman 1993b; Currie & Newson 1998, p. 5–6).

During this time, the notion of economic growth being stymied or truncated by skills shortages made a clamour in the United Kingdom, a phenomenon described by Warwick Keep as 'a moral panic' (Keep 2005). Higher education was no longer seen as a preparation for the practice of democratic responsibilities and sensibilities of citizenship, but merely as a servant of the economy (Ball 1994). This was supported by the OECD in a statement to member nations: growing their economies was 'crucially dependent on the knowledge, skills and attitudes of their workforces – in short on human capital' (OECD 1987a, p. 69).

Governments from both sides – Liberal and Labor – in Australia were intent on refocusing the onus of responsibility for paying for higher education to the individual. This departure from the responsibility to fund higher education, traditionally part of the government's remit, characterised the transition from a nation-building model of governance to one of individual responsibility and less government investment (Marginson 2008, p. 5). The new policy trajectory allocated the *cost* of higher education and development to the individual who was, in neoliberal terms, making utilitarian economic choices in the market for their own individual benefit (Marginson 1993, p. 21). As previously alluded to, higher education was not exempt from the rhetoric and imperatives of economic neoliberalism, with its charter to produce elite 'knowledge workers' (Delanty 2001). These are described by some as a highly mobile workforce, disembodied via technology with seemingly disproportionate powers to move capital, labour and intellectual property anywhere on earth (Castells 1996).

The higher education sector had been normatively internationalised for a long time (Knight 2008, 2013; Teichler 2004) with cross-cutting, multidisciplinary research having worldwide reach and character as the *corpus vivendi* for global research communities, thus the transition to globalisation was less encumbered (Marginson & van der Wende 2007). Institutionally, universities began redefining and recalibrating their intellectual capital as knowledge production and began in earnest competing for full fee-paying students from other countries (Counihan & Miller 2002). The universities were supported and encouraged

by governments in OECD countries to increase the flow of non-English-speaking international students (OECD 2004) at a time when governments were increasingly looking for more international or export markets to maintain their competitive national economies (Held et al. 1999, p. 18; OECD 2004).

It is argued in this thesis that, rather than divesting, governments have become more involved in the strategic direction of university policies and have responsibility for higher education by pushing universities into the market in search of revenue streams. Despite the apparent 'unbundling' of the relationship between governments and higher education (Ruggie 1993), the introduction of full fee-paying international students became indivisibly wedded to economic sustainability and the catalyst of national economic growth and was positioned as an export industry that the government was involved in, though it failed at the regulatory level (Baird 2010; Marginson 2007). The history of the international education market in Australia and three government reviews have demonstrated that less government involvement was not only poor policy but damaging to the reputation of quality education and student safety (Baird 2010; Knight 2011; Marginson et al. 2010; Senate Inquiry Welfare International Students 2009; Wesley 2009).

Marginson and Considine (2000) argue that the autonomy of universities is compromised by the power of governments to determine the demographic mix of students and the disciplines favoured through migration policy. This research supports the claim that, contrary to relinquishing directional authority, the state embedded it in academia more than ever before (Marginson & van de Wendt 2007, p. 30). The autonomy and independence of the university and its capacity to pursue the goals of higher learning and knowledge for their intrinsic value had been co-opted into the service of the economy and thus the nation. For example, Considine (2000) draws our attention to the fact that vice-chancellors now have to conform to a market identity that is a composite of entrepreneur, academic supremo and business leader charged with creation and protection of the intellectual property of the nation and its future economic prosperity and wellbeing.

2.6   Economic growth and immigration

Since the mid-1990s, migration in Australia has been more explicitly geared towards meeting economic and industry demands for a greater supply of skilled workers (Castles et al. 1998; Hugo 2003, 2004). The General Skilled Migration (GSM) Program marked a departure from the post-war migration policy rationale of nation-building. The primary objectives of the GSM Program are to augment the Australian labour force with skilled

migrants; to enrich and sustain the demography of the population by adding to the natural increase with tailored migration programs, particularly as Australia has a fertility rate that is below replacement level, as well as a rapidly ageing population; and to specifically fill identified skills shortages in regional Australia and targeted industries (Keating & Smith 2011; Koleth 2010).

McDonald (2005) and Birrell (2004) make the case for targeted skilled migration, while Castells (1996) mapped out the changes the new knowledge economy would bring to the international division of labour. Skill formation theory in Australia (Access Economics 2009a; Buchanon et al. 2001; Skills Australia 2010) has predominantly focused on the needs of a knowledge economy, with ICT foremost as the conduit for innovation and growth of emergent industries and technologies, required to stay abreast of international markets (Kuputsch & Eng 2006).

The national aim became the achievement and sustainability of high-skill, high-paid jobs in a high-growth economy with a weighting on greater productivity and efficiency in process and delivery of value-added products, commodities and services (Shah & Burke 2006). Skills shortage policy became synonymous with international student mobility, and policy analysts engineered migration policy to recognise and develop the notion of productive diversity, a hybridised racial and demographic mix of migrant populations energising and diversifying the ageing Australian workforce (Cope 1997; Florida 2004).

Shah and Burke (2003) go further in arguing that skills shortages are often confused with skills gaps and recruitment difficulties. Research by Keep (2004) demonstrated that in the United Kingdom 80 per cent of skills shortage vacancies reported by employers were in fact recruitment difficulties and skills gaps. Skills gaps occur when technology outstrips the skills of an industry workforce or where changes to business processes or business growth mean a gap emerges. For example, legislation can be a driver of change, such as the introduction of a goods and services tax or changes to the financial regulatory framework for the finance industry.

Some employers, meanwhile, were defining attributes and personal qualities – such as interpersonal skills, reliability, punctuality, loyalty and self-confidence – as skill sets necessary to selection and employability, and skills shortages were perceived by government as a 'moral crisis' held responsible for downturns in the economy, youth unemployment and an inability to compete in global markets by employers, industry and government (Keep 2005).

Australia has a longstanding commitment to, and reliance on, migration and attracting skilled migrant labour for permanent settlement, with many migrants finding employment in the task of nation-building (Birrell & Perry 2008; Markus, Jupp & McDonald 2009). However, from 1996 onwards a policy prescription to allow more migrants on temporary visas to fill workforce deficits came into effect (Koleth 2010, pp. 1-2). This policy represented a 'paradigm' change from long-term permanent to temporary migration (Koleth 2010, p. 1) that is consistent with other developed Western nations keen to engage with international student mobility as a source of economic growth and demographic retrofitting (OECD 2004; Southwell & Compton 2006; Yang 2002).

The nature of skills shortages in Australia is not unique given that it is an advanced market economy undergoing radical realignments in the labour force and economy. For example, key factors in the changing landscape of labour and economy include the impact of globalisation on many sectors of industry, automation, computerisation, the loss of unskilled positions, a rapidly ageing population, reform in the VET sector, award restructuring, and industrial relations reforms (Buchanon et al. 2010). Defining where skills shortages are occurring and developing policy and program responses are an important role for government, educators, industry and professions/trades (Forum & Poldi 2002; Hugo 2004; Skills Australia 2010).

Despite the policy conflation of higher education and migration which led to the use of the Migration Occupations in Demand List (MODL) in response to the skills shortages in accounting, IT, finance and business management, research shows that having an Australian degree does not necessarily confer an advantage in the labour market for former international students (Birrell & Healy 2008). This is a relatively new field of inquiry and research, and the work of Bob Birrell and colleagues (2005, 2006, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2013) has played a major role in shaping the debate in Australia. For example, research demonstrates that, for many international graduates from Australian universities, being appointed to a professional or management position in their field is challenging for a number of reasons (Birrell & Healey 2008).

More recent studies by Arkoudis and colleagues (2009, 2013) identify English language proficiency as one of the greatest barriers to job readiness and success in the labour market (Cranmer 2006), while another study found that employers did not think that former international students had the requisite English language skills, or knowledge of the Australian workplace, to warrant employing them (AEI 2008). Of the large number of international students who studied and graduated from an Australian degree, only 22 per

cent found jobs at a management level in their field (Arkoudis et al. 2009; Birrell et al. 2006).

Skilled migrants, international students and graduates confronted problems in the labour market in matching requirements for jobs deemed in shortage given their variable levels of English competency, limited work experience and the 'cultural enclosure' they experienced while at university (Senate Inquiry Welfare International Students 2009). Research by the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (DIMIA 2005) which involved a survey of 6,300 exclusively onshore former international students revealed that after two years there was no improvement in the numbers of former international students who were using their qualifications in their jobs, despite the fact that 83 per cent reported that they were employed (Arkoudis et al. 2009; Baas 2006; Leggott & Stapleford 2007).

In the context of the GSM Program, concerns have included the risk of migration-induced gluts (Birrell & Healy 2010) and the quality of training and its relevance to regional skills shortages. However, research indicated that the hollowing out of the computer industry meant that there were fewer and fewer ICT jobs for tertiary graduates. Ultimately, however, those with high levels of self-assessed English proficiency do better in employment, use their qualifications more, earn more and suffer lower wages penalties over a period of time than those with lower level English (Arkoudis et al. 2009).

Further research by Birrell and colleagues (2006, 2008) and by Baas (2006) showed that, in comparison to recent Australian graduates, international graduates were not doing well (Baas 2006, 2010), partly because they were not taking the higher paid professional courses such as dentistry, mining, law or health and were concentrated in the courses with high migration points, such as accounting and IT, intended to secure permanent residency (Baird 2010; Birrell & Rapson 2008; Birrell & Smith 2010). When students graduate and join the workforce, they still have comparatively lower average annual earnings than equivalent Australian graduates in those fields (Birrell et al. 2006). Moreover, scholars argue that international students and graduates are becoming a vulnerable workforce (Marginson et al. 2010; Nyland et al. 2008). In addition:

> There is no mechanism in the selection process to stop disproportionate numbers of people applying in a few fields … international students are looking at the entire repertoire of courses on offer and may well choose the cheapest, easiest course with the Registered Training Organisation (Birrell et al. 2006, pp.119-120).

Research for the Certified Practising Accountants (Birrell & Rapson 2005) showed that thousands of overseas graduates wanted to enter the workforce as accountants and finance managers. This would have taken the total number of trained accountants – students from both Australia and abroad – to 67,000 by 2005 (Birrell & Rapson 2005). Yet only a relatively small percentage of former international students achieved their professional goals in this field (Birrell & Healy 2008a). Irrespective of the oversupply of accountants in Australia from all streams and the mismatched graduate destination outcomes, the government maintained the higher skilled migration points for accounting until 2008, and the number of all international students continued to increase, reaching 541,579 by the end of 2008 (DEEWR 2009a).

Implicit in employer selectivity are expectations that, together with a degree qualification, an applicant will come with a package of attributes and qualities. The Australian Government, recognising the imperative to select international students who had good English and work experience in their fields, created migration policy that would ensure some of those employers needs and expectations were met – however, research done by Baas (2010) with Indian students demonstrated that the migration policy was not always successful in meeting that aim.

2.7   The international student diaspora

International education now encompasses multinational and multijurisdictional trade relationships that are characterised by supranational policy interests concentrated in global communities (Lingard et al. 2005, p. 761). Marketisation of higher education is a feature of the times, and higher education is now understood as a wealth creation mechanism to maximise the growth of national economies (OECD 2004). There is, therefore, a need to reconceptualise how the nature of higher education worldwide is influenced as part of a 'global policy scape' under the aegis of collective, global policy communities such as the OECD and the World Bank (Mann 2000; Rawolle & Lingard 2008, p. 730).

In analysing the international student industry, Koleth assessed that in 2009 Australia had 11 per cent of the global trade in overseas students and was growing at a rate of 13.9 per cent per annum (Koleth 2010, pp. 1-2). Analysis of government spending (Marginson & Eijkman 2007) indicates that the growth of the market for international students was prefigured by the steady decline in public funding for the higher education sector. Moreover, in the decade from 2001 to 2010, international students came to constitute a quarter of all enrolments (Simmons 2010). International student mobility is part of the

skills shortage and international education discourses; however, as a phenomenon it includes the circulation of highly educated and skilled students/migrants from developing countries moving to where the high-paying and high-status jobs exist in the global knowledge economy (Carnoy & Castells 2000; Castells 1996; Marginson 2008).

The discourse on international mobility has already been covered by the discussion of migration. However, investment in internationalisation is considered to be a crucial dimension of foreign policy. It is an aspect of policy that was thrown into sharp focus by the crisis in international education that occurred in Australia between 2008 and 2010, when Wesley cautioned that the government risked a 'poison alumni' (Wesley 2009).

Significant research was done by Baas (2006, 2007, 2010) on the mobility of Indian students in Melbourne. This work revealed that these students are driven by aspirational values for social mobility in Australia and beyond, to be able to access better wages and an economy with more opportunities and protections. However, mobility for Indian students means the ability to travel between India and Australia. For many students, their first choice of a destination to study would have been America or England, had they the grades and money to do so (Robertson 2015).

Global student mobility has grown exponentially with the development and expansion of globalisation (Choudaha, Li & Kono 2013, p. 2). This has been driven by a range of external factors, such as economic growth, particularly in developing economies such as India, China and South Korea. The development and demographics of rising Asian nations has generated affluent middle classes, and many nations embrace a linking of higher education to economic growth (Henry 2011). The expansion of higher education and the idea of a knowledge economy and knowledge workers has increased higher education investment in knowledge capital. This has been underwritten by the emergence of skills shortages in the economy and the marketisation of higher education by Western countries as integral to free trade agreements on goods and services (Marginson & van der Wende 2007, p. 3).

Competition for fee-paying international students and highly skilled members of the workforce who also had international experience and connections became a phenomenon during the 2000s (OECD 2004). This competition was expedited by the development of the global degree market for access to high-paid jobs, status and travel. In Australia, the linking of skilled migration to degrees in business, accounting and management led to the

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development of packaged qualifications such as a two-year master's by coursework, aimed at achieving permanent residency visa for graduates (Birrell & Healy 2008, 2010).

The globalisation of trade, technology and knowledge capitals, together with more open immigration policies that privilege higher education and English language skills, made Australian universities very attractive to international students on the basis of cost, climate, proximity, its Anglo-American model of university education, and the government's policy to absorb large populations of international fee-paying students for the first time (Marginson 2007a, p. 5). Australia's share of international students grew quickly (Koleth 2010, p. 2) and reflected the specific position-taking strategies of the field of higher education (Marginson 2007, p. 5) in a globalised world.

2.8   Conclusion

It is argued that globalisation is a transformative movement in the world (Marginson 2005) encompassing, among other things, the mobilisation of a highly skilled global workforce and thousands of international students seeking to access higher education (and migration) outcomes in developed economies (Knight 2008, 2013). International students form part of a broader worldwide diaspora whereby waves of migrating populations are impelled by massive global events and changes to relocate for economic and humanitarian reasons. Migration stimulates economic growth. While there is a complex network of relationships between countries, developed nation states continue to retain autonomy over migration intakes and try to find policy settlements that satisfy both the electorate and the economy (Hugo 2004; Knight 2011).

Universities in Australia make their own futures (Marginson 2007a, p. 5) through increasing internationalisation (Altbach & Knight 2007; Teichler 2007). As a result, their borders have become more porous. Their positions and position-taking correlate to government position-taking on global markets, and university executives strategically position their institutions for competitive advantage (Marginson 2008, p. 307; Marginson & Considine 2000, pp. 61-73). This matrix of position-taking between universities, government and global fields in turn structures their potential trajectories and outcomes (Bourdieu 1993, p. 61).

The internationalisation of higher education became systematised when the Australian Government began to reduce public funding to universities (Marginson 2007c, p. 303), while simultaneously engineering a greater engagement in the market for full fee-paying international students. Mainstream acceptance of discourses of competition and

productivity, and the need for universities to generate additional revenue streams to compensate for the loss of government funding, has had a tendency to neutralise debate (Simons 2010; Tickell & Peck 2015, pp. 2-3). Market forces are driving policies for higher education and migration opportunities for international students; however, both are integral to a broader conjunction involving the internationalisation of universities and increased marketisation as a result of globalisation.

Higher education theorists have put forward the use of Bourdieu's conceptual framework and methodological approach to structure, define and valorise an emergent global education field (Lingard et al. 2005; Marginson 2007a, 2008; Maton 2005; Naidoo 2004; Rawolle & Lingard 2008). For Marginson, internationalisation and globalisation in higher education are trends full of potential imaginings (2007b, 2008, 2009), and the conflation of migration and higher education policy was a policy product emanating from the global policy community of the OECD (2004) that was transported and manifested into the fields of universities, bureaucracies and markets. In Bourdieu's words, it was 'circulating without its context' (Bourdieu 1999) in the fields of reception, with negative consequences and formidable misinterpretation (Bourdieu 1999, p. 221).

Naidoo (2004) contributes to the construction of a general theory of field based on Bourdieu's work, while noting the limitations of the underdeveloped exploration of the processes by which educational institutions structure society (Naidoo 2004, p. 468). Following Naidoo, who suggests that further theorising using analysis of material policy products and transcripts of interviews would reveal and make explicit 'the contested relations of power within institutional and social settings', this research seeks to reveal the negotiation, struggle and compromise (Ball 1994) that constitute the processes of policy development for international students and migration (Naidoo 2004, p.468).

This thesis contributes to the gap in the field of research on international education that concerns the decade of experience of the conflation of higher education and migration and its consequences, including through the cross-field effects (Rawolle & Lingard 2008) in the fields of higher education, governments, markets and the labour market. The use of material sources is a practical example of Australian international students and the conflation. The research is also aimed at contributing to the emergent global policy field in education (Lingard et al. 2005, p. 759; Naidoo 2004, p. 468; Rawolle & Lingard 2008).

The literature reviewed in this chapter discusses the discourses identified as shaping and driving world trends in higher education as much as policy changes in Australia (Birrell &

Healy 2010; Dale 1999; Markus, Jupp & MacDonald 2009; OECD 2000, 2004a). Additionally, scholars have identified a gap in theorising international education using Bourdieu and have invited other researchers to contribute to further research (Lingard et al. 2005, p. 760; Naidoo 2004, p. 457) in the emergent global policy field in education (Lingard et al. 2005; Marginson 2009; Naidoo 2004; Rawolle 2005; Rawolle & Lingard 2008;).

This thesis offers another way of thinking beyond national policies and players and, following Marginson (2007a, p.7), invokes fields as global scapes or spaces (Appadurai 1996; Mann 2000) that could stretch to encompass global dimensions and discourses driving national agendas. Lingard, Rawolle and Taylor (2005) have utilised Bourdieu's foundational concepts to theorise the effects of globalisation of policy development in the emerging 'global field of educational policy' (Lingard et al. 2005, p. 760) because prescriptions for higher education make a direct connection between education, economic growth and migration (Green 1997; OECD 2000, 2004).

In the next chapter, the methodology for the research is explained and justified. It comprises two complementary strands: a document and text analysis of the establishment and disestablishment of the conflation of skilled migration and higher education; and a series of semi-structured interviews with international students and people who work with them in various ways.

Chapter 3: Theoretical framework and methodology

3.1   Introduction

In this chapter, the theoretical foundations of the research design and methodology are laid out, and the conceptual approach is justified. As described in Chapter 1, the research topic and questions sit within the broader social transformations occurring with the emergence of discourses on neoliberalism and globalisation and their impacts on the fields of government, universities and the market for international students (Burbules & Torres 2000; Douglas 2005).

The purpose of the thesis is to investigate the consequences of the conflation of government policies of migration and higher education during the decade 2001 to 2010. The conflated policies were designed to increase the numbers of international students studying in Australia (Koleth 2010, p. 4). These policies offered the opportunity to gain a permanent residency (PR) visa, once students had graduated from a course in a designated skills shortage area such as accounting (Markus et al. 2010, p. 4).

The goal of the methodological approach is to bring theory and the lived experiences of respondents (Stake 1995) closer together, through comparing the analysis of policy documents and texts to the effects of the policy conflation on international students as revealed in the transcripts of semi-structured interviews. Because the researcher asked how the respondents observed, interpreted or experienced the conflation, the research is potentially able to demystify events and situations (Sandelowski 1991, p. 79). The key questions are:

> What were the intended and unintended consequences of the conflation? How did it shape the experiences of international students studying in Australia?

The four discourses that constitute the conceptual scaffolding around which the research is organised were introduced in Chapter 2. There has also been research concerning the advantages and disadvantages of the conflation (Birrell & Healy 2008, 2010; Keating & Smith 2010), which centred around economic arguments of growth, the need for migrants to boost the economy and the demand for international education and migration.

The research methodology builds on existing theorisation of higher education as a global policy scape in the work of Lingard, Rawolle and Taylor (2005), Naidoo (2004), Marginson (2008), Rawolle & Lingard (2008) and Maton (2005). In turn, these scholars have identified

the relevance of Bourdieu's framework to the field of higher education and the discourses of globalisation and neoliberalism and point to a gap in epistemological development of a global higher education policy (Naidoo 2004, p. 468). The relevance of Bourdieu's work to the field of higher education is enhanced by the redefinition of higher education as a source of wealth creation and therefore one that is open to trading as a service in the global market (Marginson 2009; Marginson & van der Wende 2007; OECD 2001, 2004a). This change to the field has resulted in marketisation and market mechanisms for regulation and funding governed through the principles of new managerialism (Marginson 2003), thus redefining higher education institutions as businesses (Marginson 2007; Marginson & Considine 2000; Naidoo 2004, pp. 469-70; Slaughter & Lesley 1997). Bourdieu defined a social field thus:

> A field is a structured social space, a field of forces, a force field. It contains people who dominate and people who are dominated. Constant permanent relationships of inequality operate inside this space, which at the same time becomes a space in which the various actors struggle for the transformation or preservation of the field. All the individuals in this universe bring to the competition all the (relative) power at their disposal. It is this power that defines their positions in the field and as a result their strategies (Bourdieu quoted in Lingard et al. 2005, p. 2).

The structure of relationships in a social field among individuals, groups, organisations and large systems can be changed to affect different collective behaviour patterns. Further theorisation is needed on the weakening of autonomy for higher education as a result of the redefinition of purpose, the growing appropriation by the economic field along neoliberal lines, and 'the terms and condition of the social compact … being rewritten' (Maton 2005, p. 695). But this weakening of the autonomy of higher education can also be reversed through concerted collective action and intervention in policy development.

Finally, the chapter provides the rationale for the research and the methodological choices made for the study and sets out the issues to be examined, including researcher bias, validity and reliability (Miles & Huberman 1984; Stake 1995, p. 107). The close alignment between the methodological orientation and research design increases the trustworthiness of the research and sets out what will be examined, including researcher bias and research validity and reliability (Lincoln & Guba 1985, p. 290; Miles & Huberman 1984; Stake 1995, p. 107).

3.2 Bourdieu's theoretical framework

Bourdieu made multiple sociological contributions to research in higher education and global education policy. He saw higher education in France as a system which reproduced social class inequality, as 'a machine for transforming social classifications into academic classifications' and vice versa (Bourdieu 1988, p. 207). His concept of the field and his understanding of the field of higher education as a cognitive and structural mechanism that mediates sociopolitical and economic forces, while simultaneously reproducing fundamental principles of social stratification is a useful way of theorising the conflicting agendas and strategies within the higher education sector and their links to existing economic and political power structures (Bourdieu 1988, 1993; Marginson 2008, p. 303; Naidoo 2004, p. 457). Bourdieu's concept of field is inseparable from his overall conceptual framework, which has as its core concepts fields, capitals, position-taking, habitus and agents – constructs which function fully only in relation to each other. Bourdieu's framework may therefore be widely applied to develop an analytical understanding of institutional strategies, as it helps to transcend more simplistic conceptions of universities as closed systems detached from the sociopolitical complex of society or just 'reflections of external power relations' (Naidoo 2004, p. 457).

By using Bourdieu's analysis to interpret policy documents, government reviews and semi-structured interviews, this research seeks to establish understanding (Stake 1995, p. 16) about the international student experience in the linking of higher education with skilled migration opportunities as social policy. By contributing to a body of theory (Dunkin 2000, p. 137; Lincoln & Guba 1985, p. 330), the researcher hopes to add to the field of international education and its marketisation (Burbules & Torres 2000; Montanari & Diehr 2002; Preston 2002; Smith 2002).

As a method, the use of fields, capitals, habitus and position-taking highlight the disjunction between government policies and everyday life (Stake 1995, p. 114) for international students (Chase 1995, p. 1; Denzin 1992, p. 25;). Speaking to the gap between policy production and policy implementation (Rawolle & Lingard 2008, p. 738), Bourdieu warned:

> The fact the texts circulate without their context, that – to use my terms – they
> don't bring with them the field of production of which they are a product, and the
> fact that recipients, who are themselves are in a different field of production, re-
> interpret the texts in accordance with the structure of the field of reception, are

facts that generate some formidable misunderstandings and that can have good or bad consequences (Bourdieu 1999, p. 122).

An analogue to this research is the empirical study of two South African universities by Naidoo (2004), who used Bourdieu's conceptual framework in illuminating the effects of moves toward marketisation and managerialism on higher education principles, practices and identities within the field (Naidoo 2004, pp.467-468). However, in establishing that fields are a good fit for describing the relationships between governments and higher education, Naidoo argued that Bourdieu's limitation is his intellectual proclivity for a classist structure of society and that his work was predicated on the social compact as a strong structure of the field of higher education (Naidoo 2004, p. 468). Bourdieu's sociology of culture is deterministic, in that the dominated classes are entrapped within the cultural limits which dominate them, thus closing off the possibility of social transformation (Naidoo 2004, p. 46). Additionally, for Naidoo, a further limitation was Bourdieu's 'meta theoretical approach', which Naidoo claimed made the methodological process 'invisible'. For example, Bourdieu does not describe the mechanisms of exclusion from the field, and his system precludes internal content examination of the body of knowledge, whereas Naidoo argues for differential knowledge structures that have a decisive impact on social relations and academic products (Naidoo 2004, p. 468), thus allowing for contestation and change within the system.

However, other scholars, in particular Kenway and McLeod (2004), argue that Bourdieu's concept of researcher reflexivity has limits. Bourdieu's account of researcher reflexivity endeavours to dissolve the dualism between subjectivity and objectivity in research by offering a different conceptualisation of the subject as embodied and embedded in a social field. The relationship between the subject's position in the field and their habitus or 'durable, transposable disposition' is therefore central to Bourdieu's explication of reflexivity (Kenway & McLeod 2004 p. 528). Bourdieu, they continue, enacts reflexivity but is limited by a naïve and 'heroic stance' against reflexive 'blindness and ahistoricity'. Moreover, his depiction of the hegemony of positivism neglects other political and intellectual challenges to reflexity's failures and fallacies (Kenway & McLeod, 2004, p. 530 & 533).

The feminist scholar Angela McRobbie (McRobbie 2002) goes further in critiquing Bourdieu's limitation of perspectivity in *The Weight of the World* (Bourdieu et al. 1999), arguing that it represents a one-sided approach and that the subjects' 'misery', as depicted

by the research project, is an outcome of the management of empirical enquiry of the dispossessed (McRobbie 2002, p. 135) rather than a rounded view of their existence.

Kenway and McLeod concur to some extent with McRobbie's (2002) analysis of Bourdieu's work in *The Weight of the World* and draw attention to another limitation, which they perceive as Bourdieu's difficulty working across inter-disciplinary fields because his work is so 'firmly and unreflexively positioned within the field of sociology' (Kenway & McLeod, 2004, p. 533).

Naidoo suggests that 'materialist approaches to discourse analysis could incorporate contradiction and change' (Naidoo 2004, p. 468) and thus conceptualise policy as emerging from contested relations of power within institutional and social settings. Policy settings become the 'ideologically constructed products' of negotiation, struggle and compromise, reflecting the conflicted social and political fields and agents within those fields that were part of their production (Ball 1994; Rizvi & Kemmis 1987). Therefore, applying discourse analysis methods to policy documents and interview transcripts would reveal an underlying, conflicted discursive structure of such texts, making the process of policy development more visible. Naidoo's research provides a template for this research, which also utilises Bourdieu (Naidoo 2004, p. 468).

Bourdieu's body of work could arguably be described as a general theory of fields comprising power, people and political economies undergoing transformative social-economic changes in a global age (Bourdieu 1999, 2002, 2003; Marginson 2008, p. 304). It is an appropriate framework to interrogate the juxtaposition between public policy and social manifestations of those policies, including the unintended consequences of policy (Ball 1994; Green 1997; Leys 2001). Marginson argued that higher education has been recast as a commodity rather than a public good and is now subsumed by 'a totalizing discourse of some considerable power' (Marginson 2003, p. 63; Smith 2002).

For Bourdieu, language does performative work (Bourdieu 2003, p. 83), and it valorises and perpetuates various discourses. The autonomy of a field is measured by its capacity to refract the influence of other fields. However, with the growth and expansion of the global economic field, the autonomy of higher education has diminished (Maton 2005). Cross-field effects are mobilised through the language of the discourses and the media in support of all things economic.

For Bourdieu, discourses reflect socio-political, geopolitical and economic trends, events, activities and movements in the world. Discourses evolve over time in relation to

historical, worldwide phenomena such as industrialisation, international development and globalisation. Through discourse we attempt to explain the human condition, societies and sociology of civilisations, and discourses may be used for legitimating traditions, mores, rituals, dogmas and structures of domination (Bourdieu 1998c, 1999, 2004; Lingard et al. 2005, p. 767). For Gee, following Foucault, discourses are:

> Different ways in which humans integrate language with non-language 'stuff' such as different ways of thinking, acting, interacting, valuing, feeling, believing, and using symbols, tools and objects in the right places and at the right times so as to enact and recognise different identities and activities, give the material world certain meanings, distribute social goods in a certain way, make certain sorts of meaningful connections in our experience, and privilege certain symbol systems and ways of knowing over others (Gee 2001, p.12).

We can only speak from within discursive formations of one sort or another. But these discourses also have a legitimating function: they tend to 'naturalise' the ideological underpinnings of political, social, cultural and economic practices by processes of inclusion and exclusion in the establishment of what counts as a legitimate object of knowledge. Institutional bodies and their agents and spokespersons establish their authority and power to legislate through the establishment of dominant discursive formations.

In other words, it is through discourses that we seek to understand, explain and make meaning of the whole project of humanity in this world: its systems, beliefs, social intercourse, cosmologies, economies and hegemonic structures (Bourdieu 1998b). Discourses are used to formulate and inform political decision-making, policy development and implementation.

3.3   Fields as structured social spaces

Bourdieu argued that discourses occur within fields and are mutually-constituting. He further argued that a field is a domain of social life that has its own rules of organisation, generates a set of positions and supports the practices associated with it (Bourdieu 1998b, p. 40). Social life, Bourdieu argued, was based on objective structures in the social world and relational fields of social interaction (Bourdieu 1987; Calhoun et al. 2002). Within these social fields, struggles for dominance are characterised by those who wish to maintain their competitive advantage, power and capitals and those who wished to transform the field and gain greater capital (Bourdieu 1998c). Following Bourdieu, Maton described a field in the following way:

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A field is defined as a configuration of positions comprising agents (individuals, groups of actors, institutions) struggling to maximise their positions. Conversely agents are defined by their relational position within the field's distribution of capital or resources conferring power and status from which they derive properties to enhance their powers (Maton 2005, p. 690).

Higher education is one of those fields that comprise a configuration of distributed powers (capitals), individuals and resources (Marginson 2008). Bourdieu (1996b) argued that as fields are relational so they are always contested, with dominant and subordinate parties competing for dominance and power over the capitals of the field. The fields of governments, universities and the market and their intersection thus exist in a matrix of contested power relations to one another and to the field of international education – all are being shaped and driven by globalisation and neoliberal marketisation (Marginson & van der Wende 2007). These power relations and contestations are registered in the discourses which accompany their legitimation in their respective fields and in the intersection of the same.

The value of this conceptualisation is that it provides a way to track how the conflation of higher education and migration weakened the relational autonomy of higher education but on another level strengthened the field of migration for governments. Bourdieu's understanding of fields and power helps identify the key discourses relevant to the research questions (globalisation, neoliberalism, migration and international student mobility) and their fields of power and activity (state and federal governments, universities and the market for international students).

3.3.1 Field of government

While it is an overarching structure, the State is an 'empty container', an administrative and legal construct bound by a constitution, able to be occupied by elected governments of the day with their own particular political ideology but nevertheless subordinated, ultimately, to the national constitution. For the purposes of this research, the field of government is not the State. For Bourdieu, the State is greater than the government and all its components, the sum of the parts being greater than the whole. Webb and colleagues paraphrase Bourdieu thus:

The State is a field of power, a configuration of capitals including government and bureaucracy, economic and financial institutions, schools and universities, the

professions, the armed services and the media, in other words all the fields that over determine other fields (Webb et al. 2002, p.86).

The Australian field of government comprises political parties, the bureaucracy, ministers and the relevant departments and ministerial policy advisers. However, there are layers of influence over policy, and the power to articulate and design policy comes from a diverse range of vested interests.

The bureaucracy is the largest and most powerful institution of the government. It is the interface between governments and the people. It implements the government's policies and provides a platform for community participation in government decision-making (Webb et al. 2002, p. 98). The bureaucratic fields are highly structured and organised around hierarchies that are committed to preserving their own power and are therefore resistant to change. While the government gives policy directions to the bureaucracy to implement, this is a two-way process because the policy discussions, outlines and proposals come from the bureaucracy to the government and then go back to the relevant departments to enact through the machinery of government. These intersecting fields can generate both agreement and dissonance, since bureaucratic structures often outlive specific elected governments, and their interests and modus operandi do not always marry with the government of the day. Nevertheless, they are ultimately subordinate to, and subject to the whims of, the elected government.

The government field includes the states and territories that exist as autonomous hierarchies in their own right and, as conduits, enablers and instruments of federal government policy. The federal government is responsible for the national economy and the policies and legislation that govern import and export markets. Both higher education and migration are funded and controlled by the federal government and implemented within states and territories. Both federal and state governments are responsible for the development of industry policies around skills shortages and industrial relations. They work together through a number of agencies and the central forum of the Council of Australian Governments (COAG) to identify and redress national skills shortages.

The field of government is therefore a structured social space as a 'social formation as consisting of a hierarchy of multiple, relatively autonomous fields with their own logics or laws of practice hierarchies and power relations between agents and their positions in the field' (Lingard et al. 2005, p. 760). The bureaucratic fields are highly structured and

organised around hierarchies that are committed to preserving the power within them; they are, therefore, resistant to change (Webb et al. 2002, p. 98).

3.3.2 Field of tertiary education

For the purposes of this research, universities and private VET providers are examined in relation to the conflation of skilled migration and higher education, as they exist at opposite poles of the tertiary spectrum. However, they share a number of important features thrown into relief by the conflation. They are both in the market of the education of international students, and they are dependent on them as consumers of educational products. They belong to an articulated system of study and providing credentials for a range of occupations. They both interface with the field of government at federal, state and territory levels, though with different regulatory bodies.

At its most simple, the purpose of universities is to provide credentials to students after knowledge-intensive labour and basic research (Marginson 2008, p. 303). The premise used in this research is that universities are structured social universes with multiple capitals. They are repositories of academic, financial, cultural, political and symbolic capital with operational systems; structures; governance; regulatory regimes, rules and curricula oversight; relations with internal and external bodies; international networks; resources; built environments; students; and histories that limit what is possible and define strategies and positions available for the present and future. As a field, universities are 'bounded and irreducible', as they are shaped by many forces, including domestic resource dependency (Marginson 2008, p. 304; Naidoo 2004) and yet their dynamic, pluralistic and multifaceted global positioning provide the scope for strategic change and continuous transformation (Marginson 2008, p. 314).

Universities embody government aims for economic development, social evolution and market competitiveness and innovation (Marginson 2007, p. 6). Therefore, the field exhibits a capacity and scope for strategic change relative to other players in the field. It is in a process of continuous transformation simultaneously shaped by domestic resource dependency, national policy priorities and global trends. So too is the private VET market. Though substantially smaller and with less physical and cultural capital, VET plays an important part in the delivery of trades and business skills. Like the university sector, it is highly diversified and stratified in composition and content. The field of higher education, including VET, is a national system of post-school education and training funded and

directed by both federal and state and territory governments. It belongs to an articulated system of study and credentialing for a range of occupations.

Universities are a semi-autonomous field of hierarchic structures of power that exist in a state of permanent conflict and position-taking in response to external forces for change and the need to mediate appropriation by other fields. There are internal power relations in the field capable of legitimising or delegitimising recognition of existing capitals, which means the hierarchy allows for recognition of certain qualifications as more legitimate than others (Naidoo 2004). The social field of private VET providers is equally diverse in structures, functions, geographical spread and relations to government, external bodies and industries. However, it is wholly market based and exists to transact education and training in exchange for revenue and profit.

3.3.3   Field of the market for overseas students

For the purposes of this research, the field of the market is the market for fee-paying, overseas students in Australian universities and private VET providers. In general, a market is a place or field where goods, services and commodities are traded for money. In the field of the market, capital is both symbolic and material or substantive. For the purpose of this research, the market is defined as an export market for Australian educational services consonant with worldwide trends to commercialise higher education, particularly in industrial, English-speaking Western economies with ageing workforces and skills shortages. Bourdieu's idea of the market was a metaphor for the field:

> The field is a kind of competitive marketplace in which various types of capital (economic, cultural, social, symbolic) are employed and deployed. However, the field of power (politics) is of the utmost importance; the hierarchy of power relationships within the political field serves to structure all the other fields (Ritzer 2003).

In this thesis, the convergence of higher education and skilled migration occurred through the opening up of global trade under a series of free trade agreements (Knight 2013) between nation states, and under policies developed to marketise education services and migration in global policy communities such as the World Bank and OECD. These trends arose from the discourses of neoliberalism that promoted free trade, worldwide economic growth and the concept of the knowledge economy, particularly dear to developed

countries no longer capable of competing with low-wage manufacturing economies such as China.

In Australia, the convergence was a political strategy to create a global market for exporting Australian education, and to be more competitive in the market for students and migrants than other developed Western countries such as Canada, the United Kingdom, the United States and New Zealand. The Australian Government was committed to global solutions to national economic and demographic problems through the expansion of export trade, migration and mobility through the commercialisation of higher education.

By legislating to establish the convergence, the government used its power to create a bigger market which offered international students an attractive suite to study in Australia, including the promise of permanent residency, seen as an explicit part of the transformation to citizenship.

3.3.4   Position-taking, strategies and habitus

The social field, or the place representing a 'locus of struggles' (Bourdieu 1975, p. 19), is a network of positions occupied by agents and governed by the structure of objective relations between those who are dominant and those who are dominated as they take positions and exercise strategies in competition with each other in order to maximise their own capitals in the field. Bourdieu describes capital as a form of social energy that constitutes accumulated labour that is embodied or reified. The culmination of the accumulation of different species of capital constitutes the State. The structure of the distribution of types of capital represent the immanent structure of the social world, and it is inscribed in the objective and subjective structures of the social world (Bourdieu 1986).

Capitals are the resources available to the agents in the field. The amount of capital and its value is equal to the power of the individual. Each field values different sorts of capital. All capitals may be converted to economic capital or appropriated by the field of economics. This capacity to convert to economic capital is referred to as transubstantiation (Bourdieu 1986). Therefore, capital is currency and implies a market for exchange of capitals.

Agents attempt to make the form of capital underpinning their position the dominant measure of achievement – for example, the volume of fee-paying students, the power to appoint, or the value of research grants. Struggles occur over the volumes of capital and

what is the 'gold standard of achievement' success (Maton 2005, p. 690). Position-taking is inseparable from the position occupied by the agent as a result of possession of a determinant quantity of capitals (Bourdieu 1993). Strategies and positions are therefore constantly being taken to maintain or defend an agent's position in the field relative to others.

Strategies relate to how individuals are structured by the field, while continuing to structure the field and the mechanisms that are applied to maintain and retain power and autonomy. Strategies are sites of production as each field provides a way of accumulating and distributing field-specific capitals. All capitals can be converted to economic capital or appropriated by the field of economics. Converting capitals to money or economics is called transubstantiation, as mentioned above. But the structure of any field is immanently historical in that it comes with the imprint of historical transformations. Therefore, a field:

> has a structural history which finds in each state of the structure both the product of previous struggles to transform or conserve the structure and through the contradictory tensions and power relations that constitute that structure, is the source of its subsequent transformations (Bourdieu 1990, p. 40).

This description fits remarkably well with state bureaucracy, which bears the imprint of successive elected government interventions and restructurings.

Agents in the field take positions in relation to the two conflicting principles of hierarchisation and of heteronomy, and they align their practices and beliefs accordingly. Hierarchisation, which is structural, is inward-looking and implies status, relationships of relative power, influence and prestige, all underwritten by the various autonomous principles, such as the idea of knowledge for its own sake and independent research or academic freedom. Heteronomous forces look outward for validation, such as economic and political success markers in other fields of society. These two principles are in conflict with each other over independence and influence – for example, in the areas of industry sponsored research and the idea of the knowledge economy. Agents in the fields take positions in relation to this contest, and practices and beliefs align to this position-taking within the hierarchy. Dominance brings more traditional position-taking, while the dominated are more radical in order to transform the field and increase their capitals (Bourdieu 1986).

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The dialectic relationship between structure and agency is manifested as habitus, a concept of Bourdieu's to denote our durable predispositions to act in certain ways. Habitus are 'structured structures' or rules of the game that we have internalised. The structures are thus confirmed and reproduced, and the field shapes our habitus, just as the habitus shapes the field. Habitus is not predetermination but a tendency to act and take positions in certain areas. Habitus is durable but evolving, as it is a system of dispositions that are products of history but which are continually adjusted to the current context and reinforced by further experience.

For Bourdieu, practice is embodied, relational and not wholly rational, as there are multiple considerations in producing a practice, such as implementing a policy with agreement between stakeholders. Practices are public, and there are patterns of practice between agents. Rawolle and Lingard (2008) argue that an agent's habitus is sociogenetic; it is a predisposition to act in certain ways and be attracted to certain fields. These systems of disposition are 'bodily incorporations of social history' (Rawolle & Lingard 2008, p.731). Similarly, policy habits are sets of dispositions practised by agents with innate professional and personal interests in developing policy.

Habitus includes interest, inclination and sensibility, and it derives meaning by the alignment of values to a particular field as an expression of the self. It is both embodied and egoic. Investment in practices and repetition of practices over time by agents from their places in the field create the logics of practice. Habitus is thus a theoretical apparatus which is a socially conditioned disposition to act and think in a particular way that is not conscious and based on a network of objective relations within the agent's field or institution.

The development of the private training market in Australia for vocational and related courses was underpinned by changes to the policy framework during the Howard Government in 1996-1997 when Technical and Further Education (TAFE) institutes were opened up to competition through Competition Policy legislation (Noonan 2016). It was argued that TAFEs had a monopoly on VET training for many years and that greater competition in the market place would generate greater efficiency and flexibility to deliver a skilled workforce to a nation undergoing rapid technological and structural changes (Buchanon et al. 2006).

The field of the market for international students studying Vocational Education and Training (VET) courses remained relatively small compared to the growing market in

universities, which had reached 162,547 students in 2005 and 203,955 by 2009, including all nationalities, although Chinese and Indian students comprised the largest component totalling 92,313 in 2009 (Birrell & Healy 2010, p. 67). However, the situation changed dramatically for VET enrolments between 2005 and 2009 when the Federal Government put a number of VET courses on the Migration on Demand List (MODL) for national skills shortages, which allowed bonus points toward permanent resident (PR) visas. The most popular of these courses were cookery and hairdressing, traditionally rated as skills shortages because they were low-paid and low-skill professions.

The response by students and private colleges was strong and immediate. The opportunity to capitalise on a source of students and revenue driven by migration led to an 'explosion of private colleges' offering the shortest and cheapest route to permanent residency (PR) for a large number of mostly Indian students (Mares 2013). Enrolments in VET by Indians increased exponentially from 3,791 in 2005 to 79,173 in 2009 (Birrell & Healy 20010, p. 67) and the number of Chinese students rose from 13,111 in 2005 to 33,754 in 2009, with a plethora of private colleges and English language feeder colleges growing to meet the new demand (Mares 2013).

The rise of these private colleges was directly linked to the opportunity to market permanent resident visas, especially in countries such as in India. For the government, it was an attempt to redress falling numbers of international students (Robertson 2013). The strategy to open up the VET industry through placing a number of trades on the MODL thus allowing access to additional visas points, virtually guaranteeing permanent residency (Baas 2007). Vocational courses were the preferred choice for 'price sensitive' Indians and agents and companies sought out young Indians from regional areas and the Punjab promising a 'utopia' of job opportunities and a multicultural, open and inclusive society (Baas 2007, p. 52; Birrell & Healy 2010, p. 68).

The field effects of this astonishing growth impacted on universities as students sought easier, cheaper avenues to PR and changed courses after the mandatory 12 months in an institution. The education migration nexus distorted the migration intake and devalued the education system in Australia (Mares 2013; Hawthorne 2014; Birrell & Healy 2010). Education and migration agents were instrumental in promoting opportunities for students to changes courses and gain PR through a shorter easy course and complaints about this behaviour constituted almost 30 per cent of submissions to the Baird Review of ESOS (Baird 2010, p.), which is dealt with in detail in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

Baas conducted research among Indian students in Melbourne in 2005 and 2006 (Baas 2006, 2007, 2014) and had already confirmed that for those studying in the cheaper colleges with lesser reputations, their primary goal for being there was to get permanent residency and the education was much less important. A surfeit of these private colleges, some of them fly by night, based their business on the demand for PR and some students referred to them as 'PR factories', which demonstrated that their attendance was migration based and the purpose of the college was to make money. There was significant competition between these smaller private colleges and their lower fee structures and poor quality control made them attractive to poor Indians who had been targeted (Baas 2007, p. 51).

During his research, Baas interviewed several lecturers and people working in marketing from Australian universities and private colleges.
His research with Indian students in Melbourne demonstrates that for many, gaining PR was their primary purpose for coming to study in Australia (Baas 2006, 2007). Though it is the smaller private colleges that developed the 'trope' of being dodgy providers.

There was significant competition between these smaller private colleges and their lower fee structures and poor regulation made them attractive to Indian students from lower socio-economic backgrounds (Baas 2007, p. 51).

For example, a director of a private college in Melbourne CBD stated he believed most students attending his college came for migration reasons. The students, he continued 'borrow a lot of money and they come with falsified documents. They know the risks. They have mortgaged their lives' (Baas 2007, p51). Over evaluation of family property, Baas found, is one way of gaining loans to come to Australia for young Indian students (Baas 2007, p. 56).

Central to understanding the complexity and integrated layers of power relations, marketing, decision making, enrolment, study and an drive to migrate by some students (Baas 2006, 2007) is the burgeoning debt industry in sending countries. As previously established, Indian students come to Australia on large educational loans which they are obliged to repay during and after their period of study. Many try to survive by working longer than allowed under the student visas conditions.

The smaller private colleges are the link between the education and the migration industries and are often networked back to India and China, where agents work as education-migration agents advising students and parents on the stream of education that allows the greatest number of PR points. Many agents require a large commission for this service. Agents that recruit students to private colleges and some universities all but guarantee them jobs if they come to Australia.

Central Queensland University (CQU) has several campuses dedicated to international students in major Australian cities. These campuses are managed by a private company that is franchised to run the operations of the university and CQU has a marketing arm established to recruit international students to theses campuses particularly from India and China (Baas 2007, p. 53).

The field of the market for international students operates on a spectrum, from the cheap, low quality private colleges that were poorly regulated to the highly structured and regulated university system. Both types of educational provider were in the field for fee-paying international students; however, the partial collapse of international student number as a result of the February 2010 Migration Reforms had its seeds in the VET industry.

Following on from the Baird Review of ESOS (2010) that revealed the extent and the degree of corruption that was embedded in the system of private colleges, including the feeder English colleges, the government closed off the avenues to PR and allowed access to the Australian labour markets through a number of temporary visas so that achieving PR became impossible for cooks and hairdressers (Birrell & Healy 2010, p. 77).

The extraordinary failures of state governments to monitor and regulate the international student industry led to the introduction of federal agencies for both universities and VET (Baird 2010) and the demand driven system opened up a new field for employers to recruit former international students. But they also exploited this student labour because the students were so dependent on employment to keep their visa status, to progress towards PR and to repay the burdensome debts they and their families had acquired in order for them to come and study in Australia.

Further evidence of cross-field effects was revealed when Nyland and his colleagues (Nyland et al. 2009) drew attention to the workforce issues and the vulnerability of international students reluctant to report transgressions. This has played out in the press

more recently withthe exposure of systemic wage fraud on 7 Eleven employees, who were underpaid international students and would-be migrants (Fergusson & Dankert 2016).

3.3.5   The language of legitimation

Bourdieu (2003) argued that the language and production of ideas about globalisation are 'descriptive and prescriptive' in that they do their own 'political and performative work creating a discourse about that which it speaks' (Bourdieu 2003, pp. 84-85). In other words, discourses are living social and political products – their production and reproduction define a version of reality created by dominant idea brokers and protagonists of globalisation (Lingard et al. 2005, p. 773) and have real political and material effects. Discourses are languages expressing ideas, thoughts, expressions of power, actions and observations of humanity manifested in a multiplicity of fields of contention (Bourdieu, 1986, 1993). Maton (2005) argues that language is used as a form of legitimisation within a field of human struggles to validate truth claims. In relation to the field of higher education, this language is distinguished by specialised features of communication that distinguish it from other forms of communication (Lingard et al. 2005, p. 767).

One of the key contributions Bourdieu made to the field of higher education was to debunk the assumption that higher education is a stable field (Naidoo 2004, p. 459), rather than one that is in a state of permanent conflict and change. (Bourdieu 1993, p. 35; Naidoo 2004, p. 459). Position-taking in this field is inseparable from the determinant quantity of capitals an agent possesses (Bourdieu 1993). Strategies and positions are therefore constantly being taken to maintain or defend an agent's position in the field relative to others in the same field (Lingard et al. 2005). A benefit of the field approach is that it allows for interrogation of policy architecture as it manifests over time, including the unintended policy effects that will be discussed in Chapter 5. Of these effects, Lingard and his colleagues state:

> The concepts social field and cross-field effects offer us an understanding of unintended policy effects based on fundamental differences in forms of life on which contests in each field occur: that different norms of engagement about what is important in social practices necessarily translate into different readings of policies by agents in different fields, and by agents in different positions within the same field (Lingard et al. 2005, p. 769).

A field generates its own values and markers of that achievement and success; those agents with the greatest amount of capital in a field or fields have the greatest amount of power and influence to conserve or transform those fields (Bourdieu 1998b, pp. 40-41).

3.3.6 Cross-field effects

Cross-field effects (Rawolle 2005) occur between allied fields and also between other fields, such as the economic, the political and the media. The strength and autonomy of a field is its capacity to refract incursions by other fields. In this regard, Bourdieu argued that cross-field effects of the field of economics 'disfigure' the agendas of the fields they are dominating. For example, the emergence of the global economy has reconstituted economic and political power over the higher education field along the lines of neoliberalism, changing the structure, shape and functions of higher education to the role it plays in privileging economic growth (Bourdieu 2004). Thus, the logic of practices and the hierarchies change and become 'performative and normative' (Ball 1998).

The concept of cross-field effects allows a greater understanding of the unintended policy effects based on the difference of interpretation and application of policies by different agents in related fields. For example:

> the context of policy production involves an educational policy field consisting of a site of contest between bureaucrats, politicians, policy advisors and 'spin doctors' now stretched to varying extent beyond the nation (Lingard et al. 2005, p. 769).

The discourse of neoliberal marketisation, migration and international student mobility are apparent within the fields explored in the interviews. These discourses do not exist separately across fields but form part of the broader discourse of globalisation. The fields of politics and the State are the sites *par excellence* of power (Bourdieu 2002); however, the field of economics has come to dominate the field of universities through the marketisation of international fee-paying students. Policy is where discourse meets the fields it is designed for; discourses and fields work to define, shape, implement, evaluate and change policy and practices. Policies are enacted across fields; however, cross-field effects occur and fields may or may not refract these influences. The field of politics generates the ideologies that create discourse, and various people use their relative powers to affect change or continuity in the fields they care about or operate in.

3.4 Research design

The theoretical framework of the research is located within Bourdieu's conceptual framework for analysing and interpreting the relationships between respondents and the structured social fields of governments, universities and the market for international students using qualitative research methods in a series of semi-structured interviews. The very foundation of Bourdieu's work is relational (Bourdieu 1986); practice is not necessarily completely rational, because patterns of practice are produced and reproduced by individuals and groups over time and become institutionalised as laws, standards, cultures, norms and ways of doing things (Rawolle & Lingard 2008, p. 731).

Qualitative research methods such as interviews are designed to help gain understandings about people in social and cultural settings. Goffman (1959) argued that a deeper understanding of participants in particular cultural and institutional settings could be found through existential research from a linguistic point of view (McLaren & Giarelli 1995, p. xiv). Every research project and design is shaped by the choices made in developing the questions addressed by the researcher, and these choices embody researcher bias by choosing particular subjects, particular situations and particular methodologies (Denzin 1992, p. 8). The use of qualitative research methodologies can reveal the experiential dimensions – the personal assumptions, paradoxes and ontological issues for both researcher and respondents (Denzin 1992, p. 19) not evident in abstract theory and policy analysis.

The researcher and respondent are in a relationship with each other, and a naturalistic orientation evokes 'discovery-oriented' research, which opens up opportunities for greater accuracy and honesty (Patten 2002, p. 39). Denzin (1992) describes the naturalistic positioning of research projects as a 'set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible' (Denzin 1992, p. 3). Stake (1995) expanded the notion of a research world made visible as comprising three dimensions: firstly, the external physical reality; secondly, the researcher's own individual interpretation of the study; and, finally, the existing 'universe of knowledge' (Stake 1995, p. 100) that will be increased and enriched by the findings of the research project. Social research such as this is not only beneficial but potentially 'a creative source of new knowledge' (Metcalfe & Fornell 2005, p. 2).

All research is based on underlying assumptions about what constitutes valid research and methodology, and the epistemology, which guides research, refers to the convocations of knowledge, their meaning, use and legitimacy (Dunkin 2000, p. 137). Therefore, the researcher acknowledges his/her own assumptions, biases and mindsets, and relies on first-

order evidence gathered through conversations, observations, life stories and daily lived experiences by which 'the prose of the world' encrypts itself on human lives, researchers observe and reflect our humanity (Heidegger 1962, p. 24).

Heidegger (1962) claimed that 'inquiry itself is the behaviour of the questioner'. Thus, the identity, constructions, beliefs, values, subscripts, education and how we *get* knowledge will determine how we approach and undertake interpretive study, and therefore 'every inquiry is guided by what is sought' (Heidegger 1962, p. 24). The conceptualisation and refinement of the research topic defines the parameters of the methodological construction (Stake 1995, p. 8). At the same time, research design is an emergent process uncovering the social problem the researcher intends to explore, and there is tension between the big ideas and the reality of methodological design and presentation (Heidegger 1995, p. 6-9).

Resolving the inherent contradictions of the research involves analysis, contemplation and discussion, as well as intellectual grappling with the causes and symptoms of the issues. Just addressing the symptoms of a problem can lead a researcher into a cul de sac, and qualitative researchers do not characterise a respondent as a 'stable other' (Lindloff & Taylor 2002, p. 53), but as mutable and evolving (Lindloff & Taylor 2002, p. 53).

Deeper analysis and thoughtful consideration of the linkages and connections between people, their problems as presented and the overall situation are allowed by a research design that presents two complementary perspectives: we need to know 'what exactly it is we wish to discover' (Stake 1995, p. 15) and 'what questions we need to ask in order to make that discovery' or 'knowledge claim' (Stake 1995, p. 15). Good research design builds a methodological framework by asking what do we want to know and by what methods can we draw conclusions to approximate truth as best we can (Trochim 1999, p. 29), thus the link between design and methodology is both reflexive and pedagogical. The objective is to create research inquiry during which the researcher can 'maximise' what is learned (Stake 1995, p. 4)

The methodology is designed to provide a valid and trustworthy system of investigation (Kirk & Miller 1986; Miles & Huberman 1994) of something that has become a global phenomenon and a complex but increasingly important part of the higher education landscape in Australia. It is hoped the research will broaden the field and contribute to the field of international education by capturing complex meanings from semi-structured interviews (Denzin & Lincoln 1994; Dunkin 2000, p. 137; Stake 1995, p. 42) and drawing conclusions based on the juxtaposition of the policy and its impact on people (Berger &

Luckman 1967, p. 15-19). The semi-structured nature of the interviews is fluid, and this process provides insights, alternate understandings of reality and an alternate ethical standpoint.

3.4.1 Analysis of documents and reviews

For this investigation, Bourdieu's methodological approaches are applied to critically analyse the policy documents, reviews and statements used in the establishment and disestablishment of the higher education and migration conflation between 2001 and 2010. The analysis of the documents is from the policy development and review perspective that effectively map the conflation through a particular time in Australia. The critique will conceptualise the education–migration confluence as a hybrid policy across fields, combining the practices of higher education with structures from the field of migration dominated by marketisation of international students through incentives to migration as a means to meet skills shortages and boost economic growth.

The analysis of the discourses in policy documents including legislation and reviews, as well as the transcripts of semi-structured interviews, use Bourdieu's conceptual framework of fields with agents, capitals, habitus, position-taking and logics of practices that are manifest and operate in them (Rawolle 2005). Three fields are identified which exist in a matrix of power relations to one another and to the field of international education – all are being shaped and driven by the discourse of globalisation and neoliberal marketisation (Marginson & van der Wende 2007).

The fields of governments, universities and the market and their intersection are examined, as are the contestation between the differing 'forms of life' with different 'norms of engagement' (Lingard et al. 2005, p. 769) that are manifest during the processes of policy production to achieve the aims of government. Policy and discourse creation and reproduction are complex, messy and circular; despite shared policy scapes between dominant agents in the fields, policy implementation is non-linear and unpredictable, with effects beyond the policy field (Ball 1993, p. 51; 1994).

The value of this conceptualisation is that the policy establishment combining higher education and migration has compromised the autonomy of higher education and strengthened the field of the market for international education. The complexity of these interactions meant that policy designed for the establishment of the conflation weakened the field of governments, leading to an uncontrolled level of migration and instrumentalist

education outcomes (Baird 2010). It was these cross-field effects that finally led to the reclamation of power over the market by government that in turn led to the legislated disestablishment of the policy nexus by the Labor government between 2008 and 2010 (Evans 2010).

Three major government reviews of higher education and international students occurred during that period which recommended wide-ranging reforms to the sector, including the strengthening of the primary legislative instrument for governing the delivery of educational services to overseas students (Baird 2010; Bradley 2008; Knight 2011). The reviews embraced the importance of international students for the higher education sector and the Australian economy (Bradley 2008; DEST 2005). The Review of Australian Higher Education by Bradley and colleagues (referred to here as the Bradley Review) sought to mediate global changes through national policy (Lingard et al. 2005, p. 761) to meet higher skills needs (Bradley 2008).

From 2001 onwards, the Australian immigration system was undergoing a 'significant paradigm shift' (Koleth 2010, p. 1) and was moving the focus from permanent migration to long-term temporary migration and from family to skilled migration. As a result of these changes to the immigration policy mix, the direction of higher education and the international student market grew exponentially from 2001 onwards (Koleth 2010, p. 1). Bourdieu's conceptual framework provides a means by which we can reconceptualise the conflation as a credibility gap between policy production and implementation or refraction across competing logics of practice (Rawolle & Lingard 2008, p. 738).

The culmination of a series of unintended and perverse outcomes from the conflation of international student and temporary migration policies was presaged by the Senate Education, Employment and Workplace Relations References Committee into the Welfare of International Students convened in 2009 (referred to here as the Senate Inquiry into the Welfare of International Students). The Senate inquiry revealed a story that was more complex and granulated than the constantly repeated line that the international student industry was invaluable to Australia because it yielded billions of dollars to the Australian economy (Koleth 2010, p. 2). Arguably, the convergence of global policies for higher education as the vector of wealth production was *ipso facto* the creation of 'ideological products' from policy discourses of neoliberal marketisation that Naidoo has outlined (Naidoo 2004, p. 468)

The Review of the Educational Services for Overseas Students Act 2000 (the ESOS Act) (Baird 2010) was a resolution point for a crisis in higher education, with many recommendations addressing the problems and unanticipated outcomes of the conflation. The review (referred to here as the Baird Review or the Review of the ESOS Act) is used in Chapter 5 as a reference map of the policy issues that are presented in the research and that investigate the claim that 'the growth resulted in damaging pressures affecting education quality, regulatory capacity, student tuition protection and infrastructure' (Baird in DEEWR report, July 2010, p. 1).

The bureaucracy is a powerful field in its own right (Webb 2000, p. 98) in policy development and production. The universities and market players exert their capitals and adopt positions to influence both governments and bureaucracies to implement policies in their interests and often in competition with each other. However, the field of power for government is a:

> Configuration of capital including government and bureaucracy, economic and financial institutions, schools and universities, the professions, the armed services, the media, in other words all the fields that over determine other fields (Webb et al. 2000, p. 86).

The issue of centrally derived public policy whose sites of production and sites of implementation were often fractured meant that policies of the conflation could be applied in State bureaucracies without sufficient context or the requisite resources.

The research analysis will examine documents and texts that represent or reflect the establishment and disestablishment of the policies for migration in the field of government and the shift of power to the market as a result of neoliberal ideology followed by the reversal of the government in the restoration of regulatory control over the field of migration and international students (Birrell & Healy 2010).

3.4.2 Semi-structured interviews

In this section, the second method of research inquiry is explained as a series of semi-structured interviews aiming to uncover and capture the variation in factors and experiences of the conflation of education and migration policies (Limberg 1999). Legislative instruments and the implicit power of legislation are the primary and generative drivers of human behaviour (Blackman 2008). The policy conflation influenced the behaviour of

international students and those people and organisations involved and interacting with them.

Because the research also seeks to understand how international students come to make the decision to study in Australia, and what they perceive, experience, learn and feel while doing so, a qualitative method was deemed the most suitable. The experience of coming to a foreign country to learn and study in another language, which costs significant sums of money, must involve the students in a fluid journey of aspirations; data-gathering and decision-making; administrative and bureaucratic requirements; family and financial discussions and relations; educational and professional goals and aspirations; and the interaction of their psychosocial selves in a new country with new experiences and challenges a long way from their known worlds (Denzin 1989, p. 10). Qualitative research seeks to understand and interpret this behaviour and draw conclusions about their investment, both physical and emotional, to study in Australia, and each inquiry is ultimately 'guided by what is sought' (Heidegger 1962, p. 192)

As a method, it is useful to contrast the realities constructed by government policy and the discourses of the lived experiences of the social agents involved. This methodological framework has been selected because it has a basis that is naturalistic and located in the day-to-day environments of ordinary people. It is based on living situations, not artificial or contrived laboratory settings (Stake 1995, p. 100). However, for the purpose of the analysis, the people who were interviewed occupy two positions – one as agents within fields with capitals, habitus and practices, and the other as subjective respondents of the research.

The relationship between the researcher, respondent and context is foregrounded by the approach to the study (Stake 1995, p. 115), and the interdependence and mutuality of these elements is demonstrated by the choices made by the researcher in the defining stages of the research project (Stake 1995, p. 115). Kuhlthau (2004) argues that the focus of the research interest, the cognitive and affective lens and the internal motivations and stimulus (Kuhlthau 2004, p. xv), craft and evoke the design, articulation and operationalisation of the study.

Notwithstanding the embeddedness of researcher choice bias (Denzin 1992, p. 8), the research subjects also make conscious choices about which 'selves' they will reveal during the interviews (Lincoln & Guba 1985, p. 95). At each stage of the empirical research process, the respondents are ontologically defining themselves in relation to each other.

Qualitative research is thus utilised for the semi-structured interviews (Denzin 1992) as a mechanism for investigating the impact on respondents, including international students and those who worked with them in various ways, (Stake 1995, p. 114) as they interact in the field of international education (Lingard et al. 2005).

In such cases, documentary methods are a useful way of collecting data on an issue (Sarantakos 2005, p. 229). However, of equal importance is 'the historical circumstances of [their] production' (Sarantakos 2005, p. 79). This is a key point of the research exemplified by a culmination of unintended consequences that triggered a policy revision by the government in February 2010 (Birrell & Healy 2010; Evans 2010). What is also revealed by the constellation of events leading up to 2010 is that the production of documentation to support a position is ideologically or philosophical determined and may assume a life of its own.

The ethics approval process occurred over a period of time prior to the semi-structured interviews. Discussions with the principal Supervisor took into consideration the complexity and the sensitivity of the research in the social and political climate of 2009-2010. Additionally, various sources for respondents were discussed and it was noted that some could be selected because of a professional relationship based on shared engagement in the field of higher education and international students.

Research ethics were rigorous because of the interconnectedness with the field of international education at the point in time the research took place. At the time there were two high level and highly visible Parliamentary Inquiries being conducted: one a Senate Inquiry into the Welfare of International Students (2009);and a second Inquiry into the international student industry and mechanisms for managing and regulating the delivery of educational services to overseas students (ESOS) (Baird 2010).

In addition, International Student Taskforces were established in every state and Police State Taskforces were also set up to address issues of safety and criminal activity in the sector. A concerted political and diplomatic strategy to reassure parents and students that Australia was a safe place to study and live also attracted worldwide attention. Notwithstanding this eruption and continuation of corrupt and criminal activities (Ockenden 2013), primarily in the private college sector, coming to light through the media (Das 2009, 2009a), there was leaking or cross field effects into universities and student identities were being redefined as 'good' and 'bad' students (Rodan 2009).

The plan was therefore to choose a number of respondents that came from the three fields government, universities and the market for international students and who were representative of the operations and logics of practice within those fields. I intended to have a higher number of international students to give a fuller picture of their experiences of the conflation, but when I followed up with respondents after the initial contacts many had subsequently changed their minds about participating in the research for reasons such as not wanting to be on the record or being too busy.

I am an insider in the field of higher education and held a number of professional roles working with non-English speaking international students. I endeavoured to provide a reflexive account of my location in the field of higher education consistent with Bourdieu's practice of situating and historicising social issues as real life problems to be grappled with. Self-reflexivity has been characterised not only as a 'sociological imperative' but also as autobiographical (Kenway & McLeod 2004, p. 525) because the act of research also reflects on the positionality, habitus and power relations between the researcher and respondents (Ibid 2004, p. 527). Bourdieu calls for 'intellectual introspection' in his sociology in order to encounter 'unthought categories' of thought (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 40).

I thus sought to reflect multiple perspectives and advertised for international students and graduates studying at two large metropolitan universities both on campus and through the student-graduate associations as well as approaching the respective career offices for referrals. Of the ten students that responded to the advertisements eight withdrew stating that they didn't want to go on the project research record, which is indicative of the climate of fear and lack of transparency in the secotr when it comes to recruiting international students. The two remaining postgraduate students agreed to be interviewed and were unknown to me; however, both were advocates for students and as representatives were able to mobilise support for their causes.

Some respondents who were approached expressed concern that international students were being portrayed in a negative or critical way. Given the sensitivity of the research topic, the need to observe principles of ethical research and provide adequate information to potential respondents was paramount as was the need to reassure them of anonymity and proper security of their personal details. Respondents were sent a questionnaire with an information sheet and a consent form and a clear explanation of the purpose of the research and collection of data.

The questionnaire was developed based on investigating student experiences and interpretation of the conflated policies for education and migration. For the international students, this included the reasons for choosing to study and live in Australia and what barriers they faced on arriving. Interviews were all taped and transcripts were typed up and saved in a secure place (both hard and soft copies were securely stored during the research process).

I approached three university lecturers and two university tutors as well as two student services employees from three different universities and asked them to participate in the research, in addition to one academic, an expert in the fields of international education and globalization. Of these respondents, only one lecturer, an academic expert, and both student services employees agreed to participate. Both tutors expressed concern about going on the record in formal research and withdrew despite assurances of anonymity and de-identification.

A total of five employers were approached to participate in the research and two senior government representatives, one the Chair of NSW Government Multicultural Commission and the other involved in the development of Federal policy concerning skills shortages and migration needs in Australia; however, only the former was interviewed for the research. Of the employers approached, two of the five agreed to be interviewed. The narrowing of the number of respondents was a matter of concern and ongoing discussion with my Supervisor. The unwillingness to be interviewed was unsurprising, given the historical circumstances and the positioning of the research in the field of international education. The narrowing also meant that the final group of respondents that accepted held particular viewpoints they wanted to convey and thus the data set cannot be generalised without acknowledging this limitation. By and large respondents participating in sociological research are not indifferent to the topic of the research and incentives to participate are not a motivating factor. So too the researcher takes positions in relation to the research that reflect a point of view and research ethics and the need for transparency are mechanisms to ensure the intellectual honesty of the researcher.

Bourdieu makes it clear that the researcher's position taking and habitus or disposition are central to the methodological reflexivity of the research. He states: "to each of the fields there corresponds a fundamental point of view of the world" (Bourdieu 2000, p.79). This tenet can be applied to the field of higher education as notwithstanding multiple "spaces of points of view" (Bourdieu in Kenway & McLeod 2004, p. 257), education as a field corresponds with a fundamental enlightenment point of view.

The series of semi-structured interviews were conducted over a period of eight months in 2010. The respondents included two international graduates; educators and administrators from Australian universities; organisations representing students; employers; and bureaucrats, who were each responding to policy impacting on international students. The purpose of these interviews was to glean a fuller picture of the international student experience in Australian universities, as well as an understanding of the international student industry (Fontana & Frey 2003). The respondents were selected for the interviews to provide multiple perspectives of the international education and student experience (Denzin 1998).

Only two international students were interviewed, which does not represent a sociologically defensible dataset. Nevertheless, the results reflect what has been claimed elsewhere about the deleterious effects of the policy conflation. Ten other students were approached for interviews; but, given the volatility of the situation at that time and the recriminations in the public debate, they were reluctant to be on the record for the research. Respondent 5, an international student, did not identify herself in the same way as the international students using the service she worked for, rather she identified as the champion of the students. This will be made clear in the analysis of the semi-structured interviews. The other respondents comprised an employer from a recruitment company, university academics, university student support staff and government officials. The interviews with the two international students from Australian universities focus on their experience of coming to Australia to study and their interaction with policies, marketing and government discourse surrounding higher education. The respondents for the interviews were chosen because they were all social agents in various fields, although they all shared engagement in the field of international education (Lingard et al. 2005). Their roles differed from those of the academic expert on higher education and internationalisation, the student counsellor and the international university advisers and graduates.

The researcher approached the respondents personally by email or phone to ask them to participate in the research project, at the same time explaining the purpose of the study and the need for and compliance with the ethical standards of the university for human research. For some of the respondents, anonymity was important; they expressed concern that voicing their opinions and experiences openly may have a negative impact on their jobs. Many of the students who were approached eventually declined the offer to participate, indicative of the atmosphere of the higher educational environment for them. There was

one notable exception, who did not mind his name and position appearing in the results of the research.

The experience of the conflation from the international student perspective is still under-theorised, and so the semi-structured interviews with and about everyday life for these students, and how they interpret and give meaning to government policy, contribute to the field of higher education. The contextualities of discourses that operate in localised settings provide a means to reveal and explore the concerns of the respondents involved. The formation of different identities in the discursive flow of the interviews contributes to defining the inherent tensions and paradoxes (Lincoln & Guba 1985) in the respondents' relationships to their fields and the policies that impact on those fields.

The research design process also sought to locate and articulate the researcher's perspective and uncover bias in the questioning and direction of the semi-formal interviews. Identifying with the actors involved in the research project from an industry point of view meant the research was emic rather than etic (Chase 1995; Stake 1995). However, suspending bias and opinion and being open to how the subjects ascribed meaning to their experiences or to the discourse of international education research in general would give the researcher deeper insights.

It has been argued that embedded bias in the researcher can be presupposed by the process of selection of research subjects; decisions about methodologies; the way questions are worded – their intentionality and their tone; and the way questions are asked of subjects in the interviews presupposes embedded bias in the researcher. The researcher has a position regarding the topic that will influence which perspectives are privileged, which are de-emphasised, which direction the questioning takes, and which avenues are followed and which are not. At each decision point, there is a sifting and categorising process taking place and a value judgement that guides the researcher. Consultation with one's supervisor and self-reflection are important at this point to articulate the purpose of decisions and discriminations made to determine why one decision was made and not another (Marshall & Rossman 1995).

The interview questions were open and broad. They asked for personal classifications and placements. Each subject received an information sheet giving the researcher's name, the research topic and the supervisor's details, in addition to an abstract of the thesis. They also received six or seven broad questions prior to meeting and interviewing, so that they could have an understanding of the positionality of the researcher and the sorts of questions that

would be asked. The times and places for the semi-formal interviews were designed to fit in with the subjects' needs for privacy and comfort. They chose work offices, boardrooms, libraries and a phone interview from home. The audio of each of the interviews was recorded, and transcripts were made and digitally stored to ensure the respondents' confidentiality and that data remained private.

3.5   Conclusion

National governments are taking up global policy solutions to national and local problems. Bourdieu's conceptual framework and theory of fields is suited to the further theorisation of international education and policy development that is dynamic, competitive, uneven and consistently in conflict with position-taking by universities, markets and governments in a global environment. Powerful global forces are at work creating markets for higher education for a wave of highly mobile international students. The policy responses to these global discourses and the intended and unintended effects of policy implementation on universities, government decision-making and student experiences are the subject of this research.

Much of the expansion of higher education policy into a global field has been expedited by the rapid growth of technology systems, by global policy centres and by the rhythms, speeds, flows and flux of movements in innovation, capitals, peoples and finances. These global flows have been likened to 'scapes' (Appadurai 1996; Mann 2000; Marginson 2008). Marginson also argued the usefulness of Bourdieu's theoretical approach because:

> Worldwide higher education is a relational environment that is simultaneously global, national and local … It includes international agencies, governments and national systems, institutions, disciplines, professions, e-learning companies and others (Marginson 2008, p. 304).

He suggested that policy architecture needed to embrace this expanded dimension of higher education. Higher education *sui generis* has become part of the global knowledge economy (Marginson 2008).

Bourdieu's conceptual framework and thinking tools allow the researcher to reconceptualise, within a broader framework of history, the power relations within the fields of government and higher education and the ascendancy of the economic field within the field of Australian policy production. The juxtaposition of analysis of policy documents and government reviews with the semi-structured interviews allows for an extended

approach to global policy communities as their material policy products are implemented in national and local settings. The research is significant in that it addresses a gap in theorisation on the work of Bourdieu and his conceptual framework as applied to the field of tertiary education and the emerging global policy field of higher education.

In the following chapter, a number of policy and legislative documents, texts and government reviews are analysed. It is hoped that by using these 'materialist' systems for analysis the work of Bourdieu may be extended (Naidoo 2004, pp. 467-468) and the processes of policy production and implementation will be made visible and open to deeper analysis. Chapter 6 draws conclusions based on policy documents and text analysis juxtaposed to the insights from personal interviews. It critically examines all the competing interests, positionality and discursive construction in terms of the fields of operant power and the agents within those fields.

Chapter 4: Document and review analysis

4.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses the production of the conflated policies for skilled migration and international education between 2001 and 2010. It examines their implementation and eventual disestablishment following the Baird Review, which was commissioned by the Australian Government to redress a crisis in international education that manifested in the vocational education and training (VET) sector between 2008 and 2010 (Baird 2010). The analysis of policy documents and reviews positions their design and implementation as manifestations of a competition between the three fields of tertiary education, government and the market for international students, discussed in earlier chapters. The documents and reviews provide the scaffolding for a discussion of the struggles in the fields of implementation relevant to the conflation. Therefore, this chapter presents not a textual analysis but rather an examination of how policy production is driven by various discourses and what happens around those policies as they are played out in the real world of people and circumstances. This is a chronology of conflicts, together with the consequences that changed the direction of migration and higher education policies in Australia at a particular time.

Chapter 4 discusses two pieces of legislation that established and disestablished the conflation, that is, the Migration Amendment Regulations 2001 (No. 5) 2001 (No. 162) and the Migration Amendment (Visa Capping) Bill 2010; and three government reviews that took place between 2001 and 2010, that is, the Review of Immigration 2008, the Bradley Review of Higher Education in 2008, and the Baird Review of the Educational Services to Overseas Students Act (2000) (the ESOS Act (2000)) in 2010. This review was an investigation into the delivery of educational services to international students in Australia covered by the ESOS Act (2000). It was a direct response to the crisis in international education that transpired after eight years of the conflation's operation. It was followed by the amendment of existing migration legislation that decoupled migration from education and delegated final control of the General Skilled Migration (GSM) Program's shape and direction to the then minister (Migration Amendment Act (Visa capping) Bill 2010).

The organisation of the chapter is based on the time line of the policy documents. The sections of the chapter follow each stage of the policy conflation's establishment and disestablishment. These documents are:

- Migration Amendment Regulations 2001 (No. 5) 2001 (No. 162)

- Review of Immigration 2008

- Review of Australian Higher Education (Bradley Review) 2008

- Review of the ESOS Act (Baird Review) 2010

- Migration Amendment Act (Visa Capping) Bill 2010.

When looking at the two pieces of government legislation and the three reviews, the research looks at the impact of the four discourses of globalisation, neoliberalism, migration and international student mobility on national, regional and local policy environments and how they intersect with the three fields and meet at the junctions between international students and the market for higher education and migration (Robertson 2015). Applying analysis utilising Bourdieu's concept of fields to documents and interview transcripts reveals the constitutive discourses that structure the texts, thus making policy development more visible (Naidoo 2004, p. 468).

During the late 1990s, the Australian Government set about building a larger market for international students based on a competitive model for exporting higher education to key markets in Asia. Under pressure from diminishing government funding, the universities adopted the government position and increased their intakes of fee-paying international students. They pivoted their revenue strategies towards recruitment and marketing in the emerging markets of Asia and India. However, the overt marketisation of higher education was not a smooth transition and was already being criticised from within academia itself (Considine & Marginson 2000).

The government-commissioned reports and inquiries are referred to because they give substance to the contours of the conflicts between the fields, particularly the *Evaluation of the General Skilled Migration Categories* (Birrell et al. 2006). The Senate Inquiry into the Welfare of International Students (2009) was convened in response to a series of violent attacks against students and subsequent protests by international students and their supporters, which were symptomatic of a general malaise in the whole scheme. The government had set out to solve certain social, economic and political problems through the development of an export market predicated upon world trade in the exchange of international students, marketised migration and citizenship, and forms of labour capital, but the Review of the Educational Services to Overseas Students Act (2000) (the ESOS Act) subsequently recommended the disestablishment of the conflation that had generated such a powerful market for international students, one in which the field of higher education and VET had become enmeshed with government, with all sides taking positions in order to benefit from the economic growth (Marginson 2007, pp. 5-6). To examine the

circumstances that had led to the decoupling of the policy conflation in migration and higher education, the 2001 amendments to the Migration Regulations will be examined.

4.2 Migration Amendment Regulations 2001 (No. 5) 2001 (No. 162)

The Migration Amendment Regulations 2001 (No. 5) 2001 (No. 162) is examined in relation to its design and intended and unintended consequences. This was the primary material document that shaped the policies and practices of international education over the time of the conflation until its disestablishment in 2010. In this section, the foundation of the conflation is set out as the culmination of government engagement with global trends. The conjoining of education and migration policies was initiated in 1998 when the coalition Government and policymakers, influenced by neoliberal discourse on the marketisation of education, designed a policy landscape to meet their goal of sustained economic growth through the migration of young, overseas students educated in Australia (Kemp 1998; Ruddock 1998). The policy was implemented in the bureaucracies of federal, state and territory governments.

The amendment to the Migration Regulations was couched in language reflective of a more generalised discourse and conception of the 'global mobility of goods, people and services' (Ruddock 2001). The analysis examines the fields identified earlier as a set of power relationships operating between, on the one hand, governments, higher education and VET and, on the other hand, the market for international students. Prior to the conflation, two important reforms were introduced in 1999 that presaged the policy development of the GSM Program between 2001 and 2010. The first was a change to the way labour market demand and supply were brought into the GSM selection processes, by defining desirable occupations to meet labour skills shortages in Australia (DIMIA 1999). This reform was the Skilled Occupations List (SOL), which categorised points-rated occupations. Professionals and trade-qualified applicants were given priority under the system because having a degree or a trade qualification was essential to carrying out the occupation (DIMIA 1999).

The second reform was an instrument for skilled migration selection, the Migration Occupations Demand List (MODL). This allowed bonus points for occupations that had been identified as being part of the national skills shortage. These reforms were to have a significant role in future decisions by education providers to establish courses that would attract international students interested in a migration outcome once their studies were completed (Birrell & Healy 2010, p. 66).

Finally, the conjoining of skilled migration policy and higher education was formalised through legislation introduced in June 2001. The legislation became pivotal to the shape, function and expression of a market for international students in Australia. The Migration Amendment Regulations 2001 amended the Migration Regulations of 1994 in order to create new visa classes and subclasses for international students, specifically, seven new temporary visa subclasses (Koleth 2010, p. 1; Ruddock 2001).

This research argues that the government set up the conflation as a national response to global trends dominated by discourses of neoliberal economics and marketisation of services enabled through free trade agreements between nations (Knight 2013). Their longer term objectives were, first, to position Australia as globally competitive to recruit high-skilled workers via an export market in international education and, second, to position the Australian economy for a transition to a service-based economy focused on markets in Asia, to compensate for the eventual downturn in mining once the resources boom that the country was experiencing at that time had declined. However, the broad scope of objectives for the conflation revealed the underlying and economistic thinking constituting the discourses at work in the field of government, including neoliberal marketisation of education and commodifying migration. The melding of migration and education was an omnibus policy suite that spanned a number of fields. Government objectives for the scheme, even if they were not all formally stated as such, were to:

- set up an export industry to replace the mining industry
- set up a labour market solution to demographic, global and economic problems
- build a bigger market for the education sector
- reduce government spending on public higher education
- compete internationally for students and migrants
- meet skills shortages in key industries
- promote economic growth through more migration
- build and improve transnational diplomatic and cultural relations
- establish a regime for better selection and control of students and migrants
- build broader trade relations with sending nations.

The context of the 2001 amendment to the Migration Regulations 1994, and its development and implementation, is reflected in the very language of the document. The document describes the amendment's purpose as:

> enabling better management of the different risk levels of different countries and education sectors; better targeting of markets for genuine overseas students;

managing growth in emerging markets; providing greater transparency in student visa processing; and providing consistency between onshore and offshore visa applications by students (Amendment Migration Regulations 2001, p. 1).

The enactment of the legislation was aimed at allowing 'improved collection and codification of reporting and evidentiary data' with the burden of responsibility on the prospective students to 'demonstrate genuineness' (Amendment Migration Regulations 2001, p. 1). The two most important subclasses for the purposes of applying for permanent onshore residency were Subclass 881 (Skilled – Australian Sponsored Overseas Student) and Subclass 882 (Skilled – Designated Area-Sponsored Overseas Student) (DIMIA 2001).

In addition to seeking consistency between categories of applicants, the Regulations acknowledge the risk factors of the policy and labels 'genuine overseas students' as the targets – that is, people with a demonstrated genuine interest in studying in Australia. It goes on to state that the responsibility to prove genuineness lay with the student. The 'scripting' of qualities and intentions of potential students is part of managing international student and migration mobilities (Robertson 2015).

The discourses of migration and student mobility dovetailed into government policy thinking to target skilled migration to meet significant skills shortages emerging at the time from technological revolutions, continued economic growth and an ageing population. Policy aims for commoditising international education and migration also fitted within a neoliberal ideology of consistent reduction of government funding to the higher education sector.

The conflation was mainly targeted at international university students who could apply onshore for permanent residency six months after graduating. Trades skills gained through the VET system were facilitated by the GSM Program in 2004, and a range of occupational skills were sought, while the MODL listing of cookery and hairdressing as national skills shortages was critical to the opening up of migration through training qualifications to VET in 2005 (Birrell & Healy 2010).

The three migration reforms, aimed at boosting economic growth, created a points-based, preferential system for selecting the 'ideal migrant', who would be funnelled through a commercialised higher education field and into the labour market without friction. The regimes of migration and labour market mobility were to be supported by a marketised education export business, with the outcomes of the concatenation to be social mobility and earning capacity (Robertson 2015). The migration reforms including the conflation

were labour market policies and knowledge economy policies through the connection to migration.

Language used in political fields to send signals to constituent parts of society may be understood as 'new articulations of social determinism'. For example, 'knowledge economy' and 'globalisation' are now common currency – buzz words – which can be used to serve particular government agendas, especially since they resonate with the general public and circulate globally (Bourdieu 2002; Lingard et al. 2005). Australia positioned itself in the global export market for international students and its competitiveness in this market was shaped by strategies to differentiate it from other Anglo-American based education systems on 'price, location, safety and climate but not academic content' for Asian and South Asian students (Marginson 2007a, p. 5).

Throughout the policy introduction and implementation phase, the language used by ministers in their media releases and memoranda consistently reflected position-taking that was positive. They promoted the benefits to Australia and the 'excellent performance of skilled migrants' (Ruddock 1998) in the labour market. Deploying the strategy of government confidence in the policy and international students as 'ideal migrants' was a neoliberal construction based on human capital discourses implying that the ideal student/migrant would slip seamlessly into the labour market and continue to contribute to the economy once they had completed their studies (Robertson 2015, p. 3).

The impression in the community that this language evoked was that there was nothing to be concerned about regarding the presence of hundreds of thousands of overseas students because they were 'students' and 'temporary'. This status ambiguity between student and migrant became a source of conflict focused on by the media in the manufacturing of student identities as 'back door migrants' (Robertson 2015, p. 1).

The government position-taking was related to who was deemed a desirable migrant. The government projected that image for political consumption and messaging to the community. This labour market scripting also had a negative impact on the international students' identities. The government wished to define the size and shape of the nation's future population through the GSM Program and used its power as a legislator to establish the scheme and create a market which offered an attractive suite of tertiary education, work rights during and after study, and a pathway to a PR visa.

Australian universities were competing globally for international students with countries such as Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States (Robertson 2015, p. 5), in

addition to competing with each other (Marginson 2007a). The field of the market for international education was shaping the fields of higher education as much as it was VET. This thesis argues that the weighting and concentration of students in certain courses became a serious unintended consequence within the field of higher education, because it skewed course composition and detracted from the quality of the education being provided. In other words, the choice by students to take courses with high migration points was having negative cross-field effects on the field of higher education (Rawolle & Lingard 2008, p. 733), as explained in Section 3.3.6, Cross-field effects.

Migration conditions were introduced in a series of stages over the years 2001–2005 and eased in favour of the Skilled Stream of the GSM Program in order, the government claimed, to better target skills shortages. This culminated in a further policy reform in 2005 that opened up international education and migration pathways for certain skilled trades areas that were deemed to be part of a national shortage. Hairdressing, cookery and aged care were added to the MODL, which allowed bonus points towards permanent residency status.

With the inclusion of trade skills occupations on the MODL, the market for VET grew exponentially (Birrell & Healy 2010, pp. 68-69). Linking these courses to MODL bonus points generated an explosion in VET commencements, which increased by 183 per cent between 2005 and 2008 (Birrell & Perry 2009, pp. 63-64). This was creating ongoing conflicts between government and a market that could not be sufficiently regulated because of lack of resources and a tiered, federalised regulation system. There were structures and regimes embedded in the private VET market that facilitated migration based recruitment and dishonest marketing by providers who did not provide quality education and made students 'semi-compliant', as evident from the interview with Respondent 7, who stated that the private college he attended routinely marked students as present when they were not in class. Many of these issues came to a head in the later Review of the ESOS Act (Baird 2010).

As previously outlined, the intention of the policy conflation was to create a supply of skilled, Australian-educated migrants to meet the skills shortages areas in the labour market. The disparity between induced increases in the numbers of students and GSM applicants and the rhetoric of ministerial announcements during this period – for example, that 'student visa reforms were an outstanding success' (Vanstone 2005) – was highlighted by media investigations into regional universities and private colleges capitalising on the availability of permanent residency for their students. Second-tier universities took overt positions to expand, recruiting aggressively in India and China and sometimes establishing

shop-front universities in major capitals to cater to the student market (Marginson 2007c, pp. 1-2). Some second-tier universities operated under a management system of franchised campuses that came to be called 'visa factories'; the media ran a series of exposés, including two investigative documentaries (Carlisle 2009; Fullerton 2005).

By 2006, the success of the GSM Program was under review and the quality of training that many international students were receiving, particularly in the private VET market, was in doubt. Unintended consequences of the marketised education system were students who had graduated without sufficient English language capabilities to secure employment in their field, thus not achieving employment outcomes commensurate with their qualifications. However, the overwhelming success in terms of the volume of students and the amount of money generated offset those concerns in government and universities. All agents and institutions operating in the field of the market for international students remained wedded to the power and capitals it rendered.

International students were disadvantaged because some employers believed their English language capabilities and levels of skills needed for entry into graduate positions in the labour market were inadequate (Baas 2006; Birrell 2006, p. 58). The student visa program was not producing international students with the requisite skills to compete at level in the open labour market. The government mandated higher levels of English for professional and trades and built compulsory work experience into the points system.

The field of VET had been deregulated since the mid-1990s, partly because of the massive transformation and restructuring of industry to meet the technological revolution, and partly because of a neoliberal federal and states agenda to reduce public funding to VET and open it up to competition. VET had been operating in the international education space for some time, offering courses in English language and a range of generic qualifications in business and accounting as well as some selected trades. The value proposition for many publicly funded VET providers was to offer articulation and advanced standing into university degrees for international students.

When the market for international students was opened up and directly linked to MODL points in 2005, VET courses and providers proliferated in the public and private institutions. The access to migration for VET international students brought more private providers into the field to take up positions of advantage to make money. Already there were structures, relationships and regimes that affected vertical integration from English language schools into VET, as well as established partnerships with industries for work experience components of various courses.

Courses for VET opened up in 2004 and accelerated in 2005 because a range of occupations, including cookery and hairdressing, were placed on the MODL, allowing for bonus points towards – and almost a guarantee of – permanent residency (Birrell, Healy & Kinnaird 2007). VET pathways were not desirable as careers and could not be transferred to home countries, where the careers they led to had low cultural status and wages. VET pathways did offer a much cheaper and easier route to migration than university degrees. Students in the market for education leading to permanent residency made choices and took positions relative to the availability of greater capitals in Australia – for example, access to the labour market both before and after study and a qualification that could translate to higher wages and status (economic and cultural capitals).

This shift of power to the market rapidly expanded into the VET sector and allowed the opening of private colleges which mainly offered courses that led to a PR visa. The VET sector became a site of intense struggles and conflict, which spilled over into the public domain as the business models of private providers failed or investigations revealed fraudulent and dishonest activity (Baird 2010, p. 7). The inclusion of certain VET courses on the MODL that allowed bonus points for national skills shortages was a deliberate policy to expand the market for international students in Australia. This was a high-risk, short-term policy and did nothing to calm persistent claims and growing alarm at the entry into the market of a group of agents and businesspeople at the lower end of the market looking to exploit the migration–education policy conflation for profit (Baird 2010, p. iii).

Private VET providers and their agents, mostly recruiting in India and China, took advantage of this position-taking by government as they could claim that Australia wanted their skills and welcomed migrants. Their strategies included establishing relationships with agents, colleges, restaurants and hairdressers where students could complete the required number of practical experience hours for a fee and often very little pay. The situation gave rise to a potentially vulnerable workforce that could be exploited because of their desire for permanent residency (Birrell, Healy & Kinnaird 2007, pp. 63-75; Nyland et al. 2009;).

The link to VET was a political strategy to open up another market segment that positioned Australia more competitively than the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom in the global education market and offered something the Asian education markets could not – a migration outcome (Robertson 2015). It was a stunningly successful strategy to increase the market for international students, as is seen by the 400 per cent increase in VET enrolments between 2006 and 2010 – 50 per cent of whom were Indian (Birrell & Perry 2009, p. 65). The consequences as described in this chapter and the intake of a lower socio-

economic demographic of lower academically skilled students was to prove highly problematic for the field of government and the industry.

In summary, by 2006 the unintended consequences in labour mobility of the conflation of migration and higher education prompted the Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA) to commission an *Evaluation of the General Skilled Migration Categories* (Birrell et al. 2006), which concluded that, although GSM applicants were employed in large numbers, they were not working in jobs at the level of their work peers in their fields. When the Labor government came to power in 2007, it set about restoring greater control over the GSM Program through changes to the selection criteria and a reorientation of migration.

The field of higher education and VET and the field of the market for international students were conflicted and under continued scrutiny by the media, community and government. The discordance about whether government policy was meeting the desired aims reached a point of government review and intervention. This, however, was the manifestation of intra-field conflict and disagreement between the two major arms of the bureaucracy that were implementing the conflation policy. This tension between the two agencies implementing the conflation policy is discussed in more detail as one of the unintended consequences of the conflation and as a product of cross-field effects.

In the next section, the Review of Immigration completed in 2008 is discussed as a series of changes and adjustments to the previous open-door policy of the conflation. The field of government moved to restructure and constrict the field of the market for international students by changing the criteria for permanent residence to a limited number of occupations and higher levels of English.

4.3   Review of Immigration 2008

In 2007, the government instigated a package of reforms that was to change the structure and the function of the GSM Program in radical ways and close off the opportunity for a large number of applicants and international students to be granted permanent residency. These reforms were followed by a comprehensive Review of Immigration programs by DIAC in 2008 including the integrity issues, and resulted in further policy changes in 2008, in recognition that the international student industry based on migration was shaping the direction of the GSM Program and shaping the field of tertiary education by weighting courses and enrolments in the high points areas matched to the MODL. The government was determined to shift the balance of power over the field of the market by changing to a

demand-driven model that it defined as an employer- and state-sponsored program (Birrell & Healy 2010, p. 69). These changes privileged the field of universities, which were responsive to this policy amendment and immediately set up fee-based professional courses that had work experience embedded in them.

In summary, these reforms were to change the direction of the GSM from supply to demand and to restrict the number of occupations that were eligible, through the establishment of a Critical Skills List (CSL). PR visa applications were no longer processed for applicants who did not have an occupation which was on the CSL. Potential migrants had to be sponsored by employers or by states and territories in order to be eligible for permanent residency, and they were required to have performed higher in the International English Language Testing System (IELTS). The overflow of this new demand-driven system could apply to a range of temporary visas with work rights, while potential migrants sought employers to hire them.

While the government set out to restructure the GSM Program towards higher level skills and better English language proficiency, it did make an important concession to the industry by creating a new GSM visa category called the Graduate Skills Visa (485). This new visa allowed former international students to stay in Australia for 18 months with full work rights, if they had an occupation on the SOL of 60 or 50 points (Evans 2007). This reform prompted would-be migrants to search for employers and state sponsors and resulted in a fall in GSM applications in 2008–2009 and a sharp increase in employer – and state – sponsored visas (Birrell &Healy 2010).

The complexity of the relations between the government and universities rested on the shared assumption that expanded marketisation of higher education would be of benefit to all and that government had within its means the power to regulate, control and sanction the market for international students. This in fact was not the case, as was shown by the Baird Review in 2010. Within the field of universities, conflict and debate about the mission of a university and its role in commercialising international education continued throughout this time as a subset of the broader discourse of 'academic capitalism' (Slaughter & Leslie 1997) and the appropriation of the field of higher education by the economic field generated by the discourse of neoliberal marketisation (Considine & Marginson 2000; Marginson 1993).

The government used the review to guide and direct those legislative reforms it determined necessary for the recalibration of the GSM Program to select potential skilled migrants sponsored by employers or by the states and territories that better met identified

occupational shortages (Evans 2009). The changes initiated within the migration policy signalled the most significant reform in seven years to the selection criteria for a GSM Skilled visa. This was made explicit in December 2008:

> International students who are enrolled in courses that are not on the CSL will still be able to apply for a permanent visa without a sponsor. However, if they want their applications considered as a priority they will need to focus upon finding an employer to sponsor them (Evans 2008).

The Review of Immigration in 2008 marked the turning point towards the disestablishment of the conflation, because the changes enacted reversed the model of the GSM Program from supply to demand. Under the new regime, the introduction of the CSL meant only applications for a limited range of occupations would be processed, with priority given to applicants sponsored by employers or states and territories. The language used for this transition emphasised the need to match applicants (former international students) to the skills needs of industry and of states and territories. This change effectively cut off pathways to permanent residency for 146,000 students enrolled in VET, further adding to the stress and pressure the students were under (Migration Amendment Act (Visa Capping) Bill 2010, p. 1).

However, the government was determined to win the struggle for dominance over the field of the market by sending an unequivocal signal to the VET sector through its actions (Evans 2008). The intention of the review was to rebalance the composition and assert directional control over the GSM Program by the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC). As previously stated, there had been conflict between the two major departments managing the unfolding of the conflation, and the Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations (DEEWR) had 'a long history of prioritising growth in the international education industry and of warding off any reform which threatened this growth' (Birrell & Healy 2010, p. 70).

Despite the tightening of the selection process for permanent residency, the number of enrolments increased, reaching over 549,000 by the end of 2009 (DIAC 2009a). This was because agents, students and institutions calculated that studying in Australia gave them a better chance to eventually secure permanent residency, and graduates could now access the recently introduced Graduate Skills (485) visa and have full work rights for up to 18 months (Birrell & Healy 2010, p. 71).

Consistent with the influential discourse of neoliberal marketisation, there was a commitment common to both sides of government that commercialisation of higher education and immigration was fundamental for the knowledge economy and for the country to prosper (Keating & Smith 2011, p. 13; Koleth 2010, p. 8; Vanstone 2005). The view that the market would dictate the best quality outcomes, not the worst, was prevalent in government, and it was believed that problems could be corrected by market mechanisms and policy adjustment of the selection criteria levers for the GSM Program.

In response to concerns about inflationary pressures during the Global Financial Crisis, the government strategy was to cut the skilled migration program in 2008–09 for the first time in a decade, from 133,500 to 108,100, and to change the orientation to a demand model, which was also to protect local jobs (Evans 2009). That year was also the inflection point for the international student industry, and increased reports of violence against students and market collapses of the private VET sector demonstrated that the government did not have control over the proliferation of visa-driven providers and that the credibility of Australia's reputation for quality education was 'being shredded' (Birrell & Healy 2010, p. 65).

The field of the private VET providers or commercial market for international students wielded considerable influence within government circles. In addition to being a strong export industry, international education contributed 122,000 full-time employees to the workforce (Access Economics 2009b).

By the end of 2009, 11 per cent of the world's foreign students were enrolled in Australia, which had become a destination economy and a strong attractant to skilled migrants within a broad framework of migration policy (Koleth 2010, p. 2; Skills Australia 2010, p. 22). The shock of the Global Financial Crisis in the latter part of 2008 was to have consequences for the international student industry because international migration was so closely integrated in the global economy.

Australia was the only advanced economy in the world that did not go into recession, because of the timely injection of fiscal stimulus into parts of the economy by the then Labor government (Koser 2009, pp. 1, 5). There were continuing calls from business to relax migration rules and settings. However, settlement for migrants is more often driven by a combination of factors. International fee-paying students now constituted Australia's third largest export industry, valued at $17.7 billion dollars (Hugo, Khoo, McDonald 2006; Koleth 2010, p. 2; Productivity Commission 2015).

The capital (economic capital) contribution of international students to university budgets was sizeable and essential because they effectively cross-subsidised revenue shortfalls by 15 per cent per annum (Marginson 2007a, p. 5). Irrespective of attempts by government to slow down and control the flow of international students by increasing the requirements for English language, by 2009 there were unprecedented numbers studying in Australia at the lower end of the field studying VET courses that were less expensive (Baird 2010, p. 6). Many of these students were purchasing access to the labour market as a potential migrant and putting education and training secondary to this goal (Baird 2010, p. 6).

To give a sense of the dimensions of this influx, by December 2009 there were 93,000 Indians studying in Australia (DEEWR 2009a). Half of them were located in Melbourne and 70 per cent were studying vocational education in private colleges identified as a route to gaining a PR visa (DEEWR 2009a, pp. 5-6) in the least expensive and most efficient way (Birrell & Perry 2009, pp. 70-71).

In summary, the reforms to the skilled migration program after the 2008 Review of Immigration included the shift to a demand-driven model for permanent skilled migration, with an emphasis on meeting the skills needs of the economy. The number of employer-sponsored visas was increased, and 80 per cent of these were granted to people already living and working in Australia on temporary visas. The facilitation of states and territories to sponsor skilled migrants was improved, particularly to meet a number of differentiated regional economies. The development of the CSL (Evans 2008) gave priority to occupations that were highly skilled and in critical shortage, including IT professionals, engineers, medical practitioners and some construction roles (Spinks 2016, p. 29).

The then minister stressed that he would no longer support 'perverse incentives' for students to study in a small number of vocational courses when they may have no intention of actually working in the occupation (Koleth 2010, p. 35). International students who had graduated had access to the 485 visa that allowed eight months of work rights for them to find a job in their occupation. International graduates of MODL courses would be processed fourth, after sponsored places and those with critical skills status. In 2009, the number of skilled places in the migration program were cut by 20 per cent (Koleth 2010, p. 36), further closing off opportunities for international students.

In the next section, the Bradley Review of Higher Education in Australia is examined from the viewpoint of the responses to the discourses discussed and the role it played in bringing forward the Review of the ESOS Act (2000). Bradley refocused the debate between the

field of higher education and government about what positions and strategies the government needed to adopt to meet the future needs of growth and sustainability.

4.4   Review of Australian Higher Education (Bradley Review) 2008

The federal government took the position that the whole field of higher education needed to be reviewed and commissioned. Professor Denise Bradley would head the project (Bradley 2008). The review reflected the government's agenda to position higher education reform as a generator of high-level skills, productivity and economic growth – and international education naturally became part of its remit. As an exercise in policy development and position-taking, the Bradley Review represented a conversation between the universities and the Commonwealth about the future shape and direction of Australia's higher education sector (Bradley 2008, p. 5).

In a break from past practice, Bradley called for increased higher education enrolment of a specific cohort of the population – those aged between 24 and 35 – as well as significant reinvestment in research and a return to full indexation (Birrell & Edwards 2009, p. 51). The Bradley Review considered international education as part of its terms of reference, and it became the trigger to the formal investigation into the ESOS legislation as applied to the international education industry. The panel for the Bradley Review had proposed a repositioning of higher education, recognising that it played an important part in Australia's global position-taking for higher education and economic competitiveness (Marginson 2007a, pp. 5-6).

Australia was competing with other countries in a globalised economy that called for a transformation of the scale and accessibility of higher education to a greater number of Australians. This would require a 'quantum leap' in the funding, resourcing and support of higher education as an investment in the future (Bradley 2008, p. 5). The review engaged with the discourses of globalisation, skilled migration and student mobility to demonstrate the need for higher level skills for economic growth and development. The direction of investment the panel recommended was to empower the field of universities through full indexation and to relocate the concentration of capitals back into the government's efforts at nation-building through higher education.

There were 351 written submissions to the Bradley Review, from 37 universities; academics; associations; private providers of education services; institutes; industry bodies; local, state and federal government representatives; TAFEs; and private individuals (Bradley 2008, pp. 216-239). Over half of the recommendations were concerned with

increasing financing, funds allocation, indexation, research investment and student fees, scholarships, awards and support (Bradley 2008, pp. 216-239).

The Bradley Review recommended that 40 per cent of 25- to 34-year-olds attain a degree at the bachelor's level or above, and put forward this goal as a national target to be reached by 2020 (Bradley 2008, p. xviii). It also recommended that a national goal be set to increase the higher education participation of people from low socio-economic status backgrounds. (Bradley 2008, p. xviii). The expanded field of universities presupposed turning away from the vocational sector for skills as a strategy, despite the government having previously increased VET places.

The recommended position-taking of a demand-driven system for undergraduate students, with uncapped numbers of places (Bradley 2008, p. xxiii), was based on two assumptions: firstly, that the massive intake of lower socio-economic students could impact on the entry level ranking scores, particularly in second-tier universities; and, secondly, that such a large increase of students would require very significant infrastructure investment (Birrell & Edwards 2008).

Bradley drew attention to a need for the government to ask more explicit questions of the conflation (Bradley 2008, p. xv) and recommended that the government conduct a formal review of international education in 2012 (Bradley 2008, p. xv). The review also recommended greater control through stronger regulatory frameworks that would provide more surety for tuition support to overseas students (Bradley 2008, pp. 97-98). For the panel, the field of international education was just one dimension of the higher education sector; it enriched and diversified the sector. It stated that the placement of international fee-paying students should be an inclusive and broadening experience for them and the universities.

While the panel recognised the need for Australia to augment the workforce through skilled migration, the thrust of the review was weighted towards reinvestment in the higher education sector and significant increases in the numbers of domestic degree holders (Bradley 2008, p. xviii). The panel's conclusion was that international education, albeit the third largest export industry in Australia (Bradley 2008 p. xv), was entering a new phase that would require a national regulatory agency, which would ultimately be responsible for all regulation, compliance and enforcement of the ESOS Act (2000) (Bradley 2008, p. xxi). The revised and strengthened regime of the National Protocols for Higher Education Approval Processes would guarantee quality standards and rigorous assessments of all higher education providers (Bradley 2008, p. xv).

This went some way to address the need for stronger regulation and compliance for the industry. However, the recommendations to restore indexation and research funds to universities effectively separated the revenue from international students and replaced it with real funding from government to universities, thus increasing universities' relative autonomy and capitals and giving them control over decisions on their domestic degree missions and the resources needed for their research arms (Marginson 2007; Bradley 2008, p. 5). Bradley positioned the field of universities in a much stronger way than previous reviews undertaken by the Howard government in 2005 (Nelson 2005).

Nevertheless, there were issues with the intake of international fee-paying students. One issue was the narrowness of the international student cohort 'in terms of country of origin, field of study and level of study' (Bradley 2008, p. 92), with over 80 per cent from Asia in 2007, and 67 per cent of those from China, studying degrees in management and finance (Bradley 2008, p. 92; DEEWR 2008). Also of concern was the over-dependence of some higher education providers on revenue from international students (Bradley 2008, p. 93; Gallagher 2012). The Bradley Review took account of the serious concerns being raised about international education during the consultations and the need for a more coherent regulatory framework (Bradley 2008, p. 215). It concluded that a further review was warranted through an independent review of the ESOS Act (2000) by 2012 (Bradley 2008, p. 98). In response to the crisis in international education that reached a climax between 2008 and 2010, this review was brought forward to 2010 (see section 4.5 below).

There had not been such an increase in university participation recommended to government since the Dawkins reforms (1989). The policy settings needed to effect this change meant an 11 per cent increase in participation of domestic students by 2020. These targets mirrored those of the United Kingdom, Europe, Sweden, Germany and Ireland (Bradley 2008, p. 20). Although the Bradley Review supported skilled migration and utilising international students to augment the provision of higher education to domestic degree-holding workers, the majority of its recommendations favoured reinvestment in the university sector (Bradley 2008, p. 216-239). I recommended that the effects of the massification (the accumulation of capitals through mass numbers of students across the field) of international students through marketisation and migration incentives be replaced by enrolments of equivalent numbers of domestic students funded by the Commonwealth (Bradley 2008, pp. 216-239).

Despite the merits of the Bradley Review, the government did not have an appetite for the level of investment required to achieve its goals. Subsequently, the levels of international students increased in 2009 because international student fees continued to fund marketing,

recruitment and other functions of universities (Marginson 2009). The government did embrace, however, the recommendation to uncap undergraduate numbers so that the individual universities could decide on the levels of enrolment for each course. The government took the position that fee-paying students would continue to fund the massification of international higher education in Australia, and domestic student massification would be funded by government. Universities were to make decisions about the numbers of uncapped undergraduate places that would be taken up by domestic students, and the number that would be taken up by fee-paying international students, at all levels. Some universities within the field adopted strategies focusing on massification of international students because they were struggling to enrol sufficient domestic students due to competition or location (Marginson 2007c).

In summary, the importance of the Bradley Review was that it bridged the fields of government and universities by offering an alternative to the acquisition of skills driven by globalisation and technology. International education makes a significant contribution to the Australian economy and in meeting the medium- and long-term skills needs of the country (Bradley 2008, p. 89; Skills Australia 2010), and the Bradley Review found that it had an important role to play in Australia's foreign policy goals and in trade exchanges between countries. International education also contributed to the cultural and ethnic diversity of the Australian people (Bradley 2008, p. 89) and in the nation's growth and awareness of itself in the world, in particular, its place in the Asian Century (Henry 2012).

The discourses used by Bradley in reviewing higher education refocused the government's agenda for economic growth back onto investment in Australian students and on the need to fund research to remain competitive in the globalising economy. Higher level degree qualifications were becoming essential minimum entry criteria for the labour market, and governments needed to invest in the future as a nation-building exercise but also as an investment in social equity and social mobility (Birrell & Edwards 2008). Further, by recommending a review of international education in Australia, the Bradley Review set the scene to bring forward the Review of the ESOS Act, which went on to address the crisis in international education and provide continuing scrutiny.

4.5   Review of the Education Services for Overseas Students (ESOS) 2010 (Baird Review)

This section examines the *Review of the Education Services for Overseas Students Act (ESOS) Act (2000)* report and analyses the relationships between the fields of federal and state and territory governments, universities, and the market for international students. The

Baird Review of the ESOS Act (2000) allowed other voices to speak about their experiences and interpretations of the conjoining of migration and education, including its impact on them and the international education sector as a whole (Baird 2010; DEEWR 2009c, pp. 63-64).

The Commonwealth engaged the Hon. Bruce Baird, OAM, a former Member of Parliament and Trade Commissioner and the then Chair of the Australian Government's Refugee Resettlement Advisory Council, to chair the review. The terms of reference focused on supporting the interests of students as consumers, ensuring that the quality of Australian education was not eroded, strengthening the regulation of the industry, and creating conditions for long-term sustainability of the industry (DEEWR 2009, pp. 63-64). The response of government had the effect of recalibrating the power relations between the field of the market for international students, the students and government, as well as between the field of the market and the field of tertiary education. The Baird Review was guided and informed by what had gone wrong in international education. The Labor government acted to reinforce the ESOS Act (2000) as recommended by the Bradley Review (Bradley 2008, pp. 91-101) and brought the Baird Review forward to 2010.

The ESOS Act (2000) provides the legal framework that controls and regulates the provision of education services to international students in Australia. It is the instrument the government and its agencies use to ensure, and if necessary coerce, compliant behaviour from the private market for international student education and training. The primary objectives of ESOS are to provide financial and tuition assurance to students for the courses they have paid to undertake, at the same time ensuring that providers support the migration laws by collecting and reporting student data relevant to the conditions of students' visas to study and work in Australia. The ESOS Act (2000) is also a regulatory instrument designed to protect Australia's reputation for providing high-quality education to overseas students.

In bringing forward the review of the ESOS Act (2000), the federal government was conceding that a point of crisis had been reached in the field of international education, with the tipping point in VET. Tighter regulation was necessary, as was a review of all other regulatory frameworks:

> The objects of ESOS are well founded and ESOS provides a sound regulatory
> structure. However, the current environment has decisively shown that ESOS
> needs to be strengthened and applied by regulators more consistently and
> rigorously. Compliance and enforcement efforts need to be stepped up. It is clear

the rapid growth of international education was not matched by a commensurate increase in resourcing of regulatory functions with the negative consequences we have now seen (Baird 2010, p. 2).

The Baird Review was guided and informed by the need for government to redress serious unintended consequences in international education that threatened the sustainability of the whole industry. The review received 123 written submissions, and the online forum had more than 300 registered users, including more than 100 international students. The review questioned many stakeholders within the industry, including representatives of universities, private providers and state governments, and it consulted almost 200 students (Baird 2010, p. iii).

During the consultations, the review heard about the experiences of many international students. Several themes emerged. One of those was students' access to accurate information about the education providers, the courses that were available, the cost of living and studying in Australia, and what the experience would be like. From a market perspective, the consumers of a service – that is, the international students and their families – needed to be informed consumers: they needed access to the best opportunities that met their particular needs.

The government continued to scrutinise and adjust the complex nexus between the overseas student program and the skilled migration program, as it sought to apply the migration policy levers to a booming industry. At the heart of the struggle was the fact that students believed being an international student in Australia was a bona fide pathway to permanent residency and that it was a good return on their investment (Birrell & Healy 2010, p. 66; Kohler 2010, pp. 4-5). Many contributors, including DIAC officers confirmed that most students they dealt with had that belief. This understanding of contractual citizenship rights based on labour and financial capitals spent in a country is part of the discourse around migration and international student mobilities (Deumert et. al. 2005; Robertson 2015).

Another aspect of the crisis for international welfare and tuition assurance that manifested in VET was the financial collapse of private vocational colleges: 12 collapsed from 2009 to 2010 (Baird 2010, p. 44; Das 2010). In addition, more than 40 private colleges were under examination in Victoria for fraud, as were a similar number in New South Wales. Further, more than 60 agents were being investigated for corruption and a large number of international student papers and documents were found to be fake. Some parts of government expressed a growing awareness and alarm that the international student market was spiralling beyond their control and that the export market was being undermined and

threatened (Birrell & Healy 2010, p. 72). The Baird Review was charged with the important function of restoring the credibility of government and trust in the higher education field, and to repair the damage to its reputation.

The media played an important, if polarising, role in the crisis in international education, in particular through its coverage of the violent attacks against Indian students studying and working in Australia (Bahadur 2009). The escalation of violence – resulting in death in some cases – galvanised concerted government responses to the crisis and led to the 2009 Senate Inquiry into the Welfare of International Students (Babacan et al. 2009, p. 22), which revealed that students struggled on many levels, including academically and culturally, and reported feelings of vulnerability and uncertainty (Nyland et al. 2005).

The hierarchy of responsibilities for regulating the industry shows the potential for noncompliance and lack of follow-up action by the Commonwealth and the states and territories. The DEEWR administers ESOS in cooperation with the states and territories, whose authorities confirm whether the providers meet the quality standards for their education sector. The agency-to-agency agreements are called the Shared Responsibility Framework, ratified by all Australian education departments in 2007 (Baird 2010). Under ESOS, the state and territory bodies have responsibility for assessing applications for the registration or re-registration of providers on the Commonwealth Register of Institutions and Courses for Overseas Students (CRICOS). States and territories can also monitor compliance. Enforcement activities relating to educational services and the responsibilities of providers is done by both DEEWR and the state and territory agencies. For private providers, access to the private market for international students was granted via CRICOS registration.

The contested area of regulation and sanctions occupied a significant proportion of the Baird Review. It was an issue that characterised the private market for international students. Although the Commonwealth had delegated the control and regulation of the private market to state and territory agencies, it did not provide adequate resources to do this effectively, and many transgressions by private providers occurred (Baird 2010, p. iv). The division of responsibility and labour was a source of ongoing problems – in Bourdieu's terminology, the capitals of the Commonwealth were not transferred to their partner state and territory governments in the execution of controlling the private market for international students.

The review consultations revealed a sophisticated and integrated network of colleges, students, agents, employers and offshore organisations facilitating entry to Australia via an

education pathway (Baird 2010, p. 7). Many contributors to the review drew attention to the fact that the chance to migrate to Australia was a primary driver for international students between 2001 and 2010 (Baird 2010; DIAC 2009a). A number of students were in fact complicit in rogue operations, such as private colleges over-enrolling students in VET courses that provided points towards permanent residence. In Victoria, an audit by the Victorian Registration and Qualifications Authority (VRQA) identified 41 private colleges as high risk of market failure and closure (Baird 2010, p. 7; Das 2009b). This caused problems as students transferred out of courses and agents actively poached students onshore with offers of cheaper, shorter, less rigorous courses that would lead to permanent residency (Baird 2010, Submission 42, p. 30; Baird 2010, p. 34).

One of the main issues addressed in the Baird Review was that of agents misleading or exploiting prospective students about the education courses in Australia and the conditions of life, accommodation and work (Baird 2010, p. 27). Over 50 per cent of the submissions received by the review drew attention to the inadequate complaints handling mechanisms and concerns about 'unscrupulous agents' (Baird 2010, p. 34).

It is difficult to control agents in foreign countries. The less a purchaser knows of the circumstances of their education provider and the experience of living and studying in a foreign country, the greater their risk of moral hazard (Baird 2010, p. 28). A submission to the review by the Sydney College of English stated: 'It is impossible for Australian providers to take responsibility for their overseas agents' business activities. Agent contracts are not enforceable instruments internationally' (Baird 2010, Submission 107, p. 31).

Such was the power of the agents and colleges in the market for international students that neither side of government moved decisively against their activities until the collapse of private colleges during 2009 and 2010, although their practices had been flagged with the government for some years. For example, the Migration Institute of Australia, which controls registered migration agents, reported 60 cases of 'rogue agents' selling fake documents and fake education and work experience to Chinese students (Johnston 2009). The institute's chief executive officer, Maureen Horder, said that the organisation had been trying to alert government to the growth of fraud and corruption, which were 'rife', and 'to get the Government to act', but that little had happened because 'the Howard Government gave this a very low priority' (Horder quoted in Johnston 2009).

During the ESOS consultations, Baird observed:

Concerns raised during the consultations included reports of: false and misleading information provided by some education agents, poor quality education and training, gross over enrolments, lack of appropriate education facilities, providers paying exorbitant commissions to education agents, limited financial scrutiny of providers, ineffective application and enforcement of regulation, low English language entry requirements, poor social inclusion of students in their institutions and the broader community, inadequate complaints and dispute handling services and some duplication between Commonwealth and states and territories leading to confusion (Baird 2009, p. iv).

The Australian Council for Private Education and Training was also aware of the role that unscrupulous agents played in unethical recruitment. In its submission to the review, it stated:

The role of some unscrupulous agents and colleges must be held to account for unreliable or inconsistent information that they disseminate and the role they play in creating student uncertainty or churn (Baird 2010, Submission 10, p. 34).

Many higher education institutions found that their reputations had been tarnished as a result of the operations of the less expensive end of the market for international students. During this period, evidence emerged that some second-tier universities were putting the need for international student revenue ahead of entry standards for English proficiency and the ability of students to perform at a tertiary level (Ryan & Steadman 2005; Taylor 2011). In his preface to a report to the Victorian Government, the ombudsman said that after investigating four Victorian universities following claims of bribery by students wanting better marks in their courses:

While the ideal of universities as independent centres of teaching and research remains important, I consider that they are not well placed to self-regulate their dealings with international students when they are competing for those students and are reliant on them for a large part of their revenue (Taylor 2011, p.72).

The Baird Review showed that the sheer volume of international students in courses that were directly linked to migration made the tuition protection framework unsustainable (Baird 2010, p. vi). This realisation was accompanied by a view expressed in some submissions that compliance and enforcement were 'ad hoc' (Baird 2010, Submission 25, p. 8) and that the government had no 'teeth' (Baird, Submission 89, 2010).

Notwithstanding, international student numbers peaked at over half a million in December 2009, and what had led to the decline in standards and the levels of English proficiency was a 'greater reliance on poorer quality students' (DEEWR 2009b, pp. 4, 7).

The treatment of students by dishonest agents was symptomatic of deeper issues with intermediaries marketising international education that opened up the field to a subset of who made money from the transactions without responsibility to the students. These included agents, bankers, migration lawyers and loan sharks. Therefore, the review returned students to the centre of deliberations for better regulation and stronger compliance and enforcement of providers 'with questionable motivations, poor education quality and a distinct lack of concern for providing a rewarding student experience' (Baird 2010 p. 1). Further:

> International education has quite often been referred to in the context of the export income it has generated. The focus on international education as an export industry has been accompanied by a focus on watching and supporting its growth, both in terms of student numbers and export earnings. I believe that this has been to the detriment of the underlying pillars that make the sector great: quality education, the student experience and viable businesses with sustainable operations. We are now paying the price for being distracted by the money (Baird 2010, p. 2).

The Baird Review contextualised the debate around international education in new ways that drew attention to the conflicts inherent in the current market based system. Baird observed that international education was being driven by global discourses of student mobility and that markets do change over time. However, he cautioned that international education was at a crossroads globally and that success was not necessarily assured (Baird 2010, p. 1). Unless governments reinvested in the quality of education being provided to international students in Australia and in stronger and more rigorous regulatory infrastructure and enforcement, the opportunities to remain competitive would be lost. What was paramount, Baird stressed, was to improve the student experience (Baird 2010, p. iv).

Damage to the reputation of Australian universities was not just collateral damage to their commercial arms; it also influenced their networks and operations, research collaborations and funding. In the case of attacks on Indian students, the damage went beyond universities to Australia's export markets, diplomatic ties and the bilateral relationship with India, including cultural and social relations and trade (Baird 2010, p. 4; Wesley 2009). Universities understood their power and exercised their capitals in relation to government

and the market, and the majority made contributions to the Senate Inquiry into the Welfare of International Students (2009) and the Baird Review (2010). All universities took steps to better inform and protect students who were studying with them, and some commissioned reviews of their services to international students.

In summary, the government restored control when it brought forward the Review of the ESOS Act as a mechanism for renegotiating and asserting its power over the market, the students and universities. Higher education in Australia is a highly-regulated industry; however, markets induce competition for lower prices and lower standards by privileging money over product quality. Linking migration opportunities to education in Australia attracted a new market for migration and education agents – that is, students looking for access to life in Australian and the economy – and institutions wanted to maximise their profits in a fast-growing industry (Baird 2010, pp. 5-7; Birrell & Perry 2009).

The Baird Review recommendations changed the power balance and reset the rules for dominance by the field of government over the private market for international education. The Baird Review (2010) recommended that the government change the skilled migration settings and gear the program towards higher qualifications in higher education (Baird 2010, p. xi), effectively decoupling the education and migration conflation that had driven the market for the previous 10 years.

The field of government, while it had the intent of regulation, quality assurance and consumer protection, had been inadequate to the task of regulating a full-blown market system that had evolved out of the conflation and increased the volumes of international students exponentially over 10 years. The vertical integration of fraudulent and corrupt practices by providers, agents and students meant that many students were complicit or 'hostage' to these acts, with the aim of gaining permanent residence, not a 'respected qualification' (Report on Senate Inquiry into Welfare of International Students 2009, DIAC Submission, p.111).

Set within the broader global, national and international contexts, Australian governments and providers had an ethical responsibility (Davis 2010) to guarantee the quality of education, the standards of entry into education, and the support and protection of students. International students required a level of English language proficiency that allowed them to not only succeed in their courses, but also participate meaningfully in classes and in work in the broader society (DEEWR 2009c, p. 11; Sawir et. al. 2008).

The federal government had sought answers by undertaking a series of investigations and reviews between 2008 and 2010, including the Review of the Immigration Act (Evans 2008), the Bradley Review of Higher Education (2008) and the Senate Inquiry into the Welfare of International Students (2009). Finally, the Review of the Educational Services for Overseas Students (ESOS) Act (2000) sought to re-establish power and control over the market in international education that was being driven by access to migration (Baird 2010; Evans 2010).

In the next section, the Migration Amendment Act (Visa Capping) Bill 2010, which passed through the Parliament in May 2010, is examined as the key legislation that disestablished the conflation and changed the migration regime that both government and international students had been operating under.

4.6   Migration Amendment Act (Visa Capping) Bill 2010

The final stage of the disestablishment of the policy conflation took place in May 2010, after the Minister for Immigration and Citizenship announced sweeping changes to the Migration Act in February 2010. The Migration Amendment Act (Visa Capping) Bill 2010 was the most categorical reform to the GSM Program since the open-door policy that allowed onshore applications for permanent residency in 2001, and it decisively cut the link between international education and migration. The language used in the bill's explanatory memorandum is clear on the intention to disconnect migration from education pathways and to disestablish the policies that led to the conflation (Evans 2010).

The February 2010 reforms would cap international student migration applications under the new demand system, and the legislation would decouple the links between the international student visas and the migration opportunity to gain permanent residency. The then minister, Chris Evans, suspended the MODL and replaced it with a CSL which is discussed as a change that occurred in 2008 following the Review of Immigration (2008). He also acquired ministerial power to terminate an application for a visa, which meant that 20,000 visa applications in the pipeline, from both onshore and offshore, were in limbo (Mares 2010).

The Migration Amendment (Visa Capping) Bill 2010 was a legislative instrument to determine the maximum number of Skilled visas in specified classes that would be granted each financial year and to determine the number of visas available to applicants with specified characteristics (The Migration Amendment (Visa Capping) Bill 2010, p. 2). The amendment bill was also a mechanism to deal with the oversupply of applicants for a

limited number of occupations and allowed for 'more effective and targeted management' of the GSM Program (The Migration Amendment (Visa Capping) Bill 2010, p. 2). These occupations were skewed heavily towards the high visa points occupations. Now, instead of having a number of total Skilled visas each year for which applicants formed a queue to be assessed, there would be a maximum number of visas for accountants, nurses, IT technicians and so forth – once that predetermined number for a class had been issued, no further visas for that class would be issued.

The Migration Amendment (Visa Capping) Bill 2010 comprised 'threshold requirements' (The Migration Amendment (Visa Capping) Bill pp. 2-3): an applicant must have an occupation on the new SOL, and a specialised occupations list was also created for the states. Former students could no longer access the Graduate 485 visa unless they had an occupation on a new SOL. It became more difficult to gain permanent residency, particularly as the minimum IELTS levels were raised for all categories of student visas (Birrell & Healy 2010, pp. 72-76). With the reduction in the numbers of occupations on the CSL occupations, many students who had studied particular courses in Australia under the belief that they could gain extra points towards a PR visa realised that they had spent a great deal of time and money in Australia without reaching their goal. At the peak of intakes in 2009, there were 491,565 international students in all forms of education across Australia (DEEWR 2009). Many of those students had an expectation of gaining permanent residence on completion of their educational courses (Wesley 2009, p. 4). At the time of the amendment in June 2010 146,000 applications for GSM visas were pending, which exceeded the number of places available as set by government (Migration Amendment Act (Visa capping) Bill 2010). The minister would have the power to cancel all visas above the cap, as though they had never been granted. An important aspect of the amendment granted the minister powers to 'terminate' an application for permanent residency without the applicants having recourse to appeal, making it possible to clear the backlog of tens of thousands of applications by former students. This would mean that all applications for permanent residency, once an occupation had been capped, would be terminated as though they never existed (Migration Amendment Act (Visa capping) Bill 2010, p. 5) and all visas, bridging or otherwise, would be cancelled with four weeks' notice.

These changes sparked alarm and panic in the international student and migration industries (Mares 2010, p. 1). It was obvious that, through this policy reversal, the conflation was over (Birrell & Healy 2010). These new measures allowed the minister 'to reach inside' a class of visa applications and to cap and cease a group of applicants (i.e., individuals), rather than a class of visa (Mares 2010). However, they created a huge extra burden of

administration for DIAC at a time when governments were cutting funds to the bureaucracy.

The government sought to clarify the distinction between the two programs – that is, the international education program and the PR visa program – and took a very firm position that the international education program would no longer guarantee access to permanent residency. When the minister announced the major reforms to the skilled migration program that severed the link between higher education and migration, he said:

> It must be remembered that a student visa is just that: a visa to study. It does not give someone automatic entitlement to permanent residence. International students should be focused on obtaining a good qualification from a quality education provider in a field in which they want to work. Similarly, Australia's migration program is not and should not be determined by the courses studied by international students (Evans 2010a).

In summary, the announcement by the government to cap and cease visas for international students and other prospective skilled migrants, without any recourse for the students to appeal (Evans 2010), relocated power within the minister's portfolio and marked a break in the policy tensions between DEEWR – which was intent on growing the market for international students – and DIAC – which had the primary regulatory role for immigration (Birrell & Healy 2010). This major policy reversal reverberated throughout the migration and the higher education sectors and caused anguish and uncertainty. The policy approach would now be demand-driven, and it directed employers and states to access skilled migrants, effectively severing the nexus to supply-driven, professionally educated international students.

The obvious benefits to Australia of bringing increasing numbers of fee-paying international students to Australia were many; however, equally there were major concerns that the system of mapping educational programs to identified skills shortage areas that attracted higher points towards migration outcomes was skewing the populations of students into certain areas, as well as evidence that the graduates of those courses were not achieving job outcomes commensurate with their qualifications (Arkoudis et al. 2009; Birrell et al. 2006; Hawthorne 2007).

The government faced a dilemma: on the one hand, it needed to curb and control the excesses of the market on the exploitation of the policy settings linking higher education to migration; on the other hand, it had evidence arguing that Australia must continue to

expand through migration if it were to achieve the economic growth outlook and longer term sustainability for the economy (Access Economics 2009a).

4.7   Conclusion

The establishment, and later disestablishment, of the conflation of migration and higher education policies constituted a series of policy events in the fields of government, tertiary education and the market for international students in Australia from 2001 to 2010. Creating a market for trading in education services, with or without a migration incentive, is situated within the neoliberal discourses of marketisation, including notions of supply and demand, value propositions and products.

The international education field gained momentum because of its dramatic growth since the introduction of the Migration Amendment Regulations 2001 (No. 5) 2001 (No. 162) to allow international students to apply onshore for PR visas within six months of completing their courses. The weight and volume of the field impacted directly on the fields of universities and government by generating a $15 billion industry and by creating resource dependent behaviours within universities. However, it came at a cost that was difficult to monetise. To that extent, the marketisation of a human service objectifies the international students and commoditises higher education because the denominator is money (Baird 2010, p. 4). Conflating higher education and migration policies created a large and unwieldy market that governments and providers found difficult to control, and opened up the market to people and businesses for whom education was secondary to facilitating permanent residency and access to the Australian labour market as the endgame (Senate Report on Inquiry into Welfare of International Students 2009, pp. 5-7).

By changing the criteria for skilled migration from supply to demand and by decoupling the existing easy access to permanent residence, the government exercised ultimate power in differentiating the quality of providers and qualifications. The ESOS Act (2000) was designed to support and protect students from the excesses of the markets and the unscrupulous players within it, to strengthen its controls and provisions, to ensure tuition protection, to ensure business planning was sound, to ensure fit and proper persons were in the education business, and to provide students proper access to information and consumer protections. It changed the nature of the market and sent unambiguous signals to both providers and students (Baird 2010, p. iii, 6).

However, the fundamental issue for the Baird Review was that governments and stakeholders had failed to effectively manage and enforce compliance of the market and

had failed to reinvest in the sector (Baird 2010, pp. 7-15). The crux of the crisis in international education came to a head with reported acts of violence against students in Melbourne and Sydney, including four deaths (Chopra 2009). The research supports the analysis by Babacan and colleagues that the violence was not directly related to racism: it was part of a combustible mix, with international students being slurred in the media and forced to find cheap accommodation in lower socio-economic neighbourhoods, where traditionally competition for scarce resources was most acute, and so the resentment of outsiders often took the form of racial attacks (Babacan et al. 2010; Bahadur 2009; D'Costa 2010). There were widespread reports of exploitation of students by education and migration agents, and complaints about poor quality education, low levels of English, gross over-enrolment and social isolation, which compounded the difficulties faced by international students.

By 2009, the field of the market for international students and tertiary education providers was experiencing an international crisis. For students operating within the field of power relations between governments, the market and universities, their position was not clear. Students occupied a place in the market as purchasers of educational services. However, many stated that they were misled and duped by education agents in their own countries about what to expect from living and studying in Australia. During protests about the violence perpetrated against them, students also expressed indignation and anger about being referred to as 'cash cows' by the media (Nyland 2009). Students were the moving field within the events and within the power plays between government and the market; their subjectivities changed as they expressed their power in organised ways by protesting in the streets of Melbourne and Sydney (Bachelard 2010; Das 2010; Miller & Doherty 2009) and collectively lobbying through the Council of International Students Australia (Nyland 2008).

During the crisis, students also became victims of crime, discrimination and racism. The influence of these labels, the public demonstrations and the international media coverage changed the positioning of international students in market terms and in relation to the government. They were both disgruntled, exploited consumers and young people to whom governments and universities had a duty of care. It is this ethic of care towards international students that resonated in the Baird Review (Babacan et al. 2010, p. 10).

The crisis in international education manifested in the VET sector as market failure and documented fraud and corruption. However, it also comprised poor job outcomes for international students and a misguided focus on the money that international students were

bringing to Australia's economy rather than the maintenance of high-quality educational provision and a manageable quota of international students (Baird 2010, pp. iv, 1-2).

The disestablishment of the conflation began with a Review of Immigration in 2008, which led to a series of amendments in 2008 and 2009 (Evans 2008, 2009). The direction of the GSM Skilled Stream was reversed so that international students would need to find an employer or be sponsored by a state or territory government to be eligible for permanent residency. The government re-engineered the GSM Program to better meet the changing skills needs of the country and industries. However, there remained hundreds of thousands of would-be migrants whose applications for permanent residency had been reprioritised by this legislation.

The reforms to the skilled migration visa criteria included the revoking and abolition of the MODL and the introduction of the abridged CSL and SOL. The points testing system used to determine the eligibility and desirability of visa applicants was also reviewed. The most controversial reform was the Migration Amendment (Visa Capping) Bill 2010, introduced into Parliament in 2010. The legislation gave the Minister for Immigration the power to set the number of visas to be granted in any one occupation, and the authority to cease any visa applications in the pipeline for those occupations. Applicants would no longer have the right to appeal the decision. In announcing the re-engineering of the SOL on 17 May 2010, the then minister heralded the end of the conflation and the change to a demand-driven skilled migration program. He advised that while the government valued international students:

> It is strongly advised that you do not undertake studies with the sole purpose of obtaining a migration outcome. The student visa process is an entirely separate process to skilled migration and there is no guarantee that a student will be eligible for skilled migration purely on the basis of having undertaken a course related to an occupation on the SOL (Evans 2010a).

The disestablishment of the conflation, signalled by the introduction of the Migration Amendment (Visa Capping) Bill (2010) (Evans 2010), came at a stage when there were still hundreds of thousands of international students enrolled with providers in Australia and tens of thousands already in the pipeline for migration, having completed their studies and been qualified to stay and work in Australia while awaiting a determination on their PR visa applications.

In 2011, the government commissioned a further review of student visas. The Knight Review (2011) was not designed to re-engineer the whole student visa system; it was more of an attempt to balance the interests of education, economics and migration.

The government's policy position-taking and strategies for international education, and the policy levers utilised when it was faced with 'overwhelming evidence' (Birrell & Healy 2010, p. 65) of market failure, are well documented (Baird 2010, p. vi). Understanding the discourses as drivers of government policy and policy adjustments is necessary to comprehend why the crisis in international education occurred and how it evolved during 2009 and 2010. While the university sector had been compromised and its reputation damaged, it was the escalation of violence against international students while in Australia that culminated in a full-scale diplomatic incident between Australia and India and, to a lesser extent, between Australia and China (Gillard 2009).

However, private VET education was the tipping point of the conflict and struggle that led to a breakdown in the system and the widespread market collapse of private colleges in 2008 to 2010 (Birrell & Healy 2008, 2010). This eventuated in a Senate Inquiry into the Welfare of International Students (2009) and a series of roundtables, task forces and diplomatic missions to restore relationships with India and China. Criticism of the policy conflation was growing, supported by evidence that it was not meeting the intended policy outcomes and was having a detrimental effect on Australia's reputation (Wesley 2009, p. 1). The attacks on migrant students were a rally point for international students to protest in major cities about being treated as 'cash cows' by the government and universities and VET providers (Nyland 2009).

The consultations and submissions revealed the government's lack of a 'coherent and long term' strategy (Baird 2010, Submission 25, p. 8), one that drew together the roles, responsibilities and regulatory powers of federal, state territory governments. This, together with the lack of an overarching national regulatory body for both higher education and vocational education, had exacerbated the problems in an inherently complex and messy situation. The government needed 'to view the situation holistically' (Baird 2010, p. 2). The review reiterated that agents, students and stakeholders conspiring to achieve a migration outcome had compromised the quality of Australian international education. Quite simply, the income generated, and the dependence of the sector on that income, had undermined the industry.

The formal government investigations into the international student industry, in the interests of international student welfare, were the restitution of control of the field whereby

all stakeholders, including international students, explained the unintended consequences of the former policy conflation on the industry and the individuals. During the inquiries, many contributors, including DIAC officers (Baird 2010, Submission 41, p. 71; Senate Inquiry into Welfare of International Students 2009), stated that some international students believed that that being an international student in Australia was a bona fide pathway to permanent residency in Australia (Baird 2010, Submission 69, p. 71; Birrell & Healy 2010, p. 66; Kohler 2010, pp. 4-5). The government restored the diplomatic relationship with India and seen significant trade benefits in other industries. The universities reassessed their roles and the part international education is to play in the mix of their revenue streams and remits.

During the conflation, the three fields of government, higher education and the market existed in competition with each other. The struggles in the fields and the agents within them to transform or maintain control are embodied by the legislation and reviews conducted by the government. At the same time, there were struggles for dominance and control, involving agents within fields and the arms of the bureaucracy responsible for the conflation.

In the following chapter, the semi-structured interviews will be analysed as the second dimension of this research. An examination will be made of the effect of government policy on the people involved in the fields of government, universities and the market.

Chapter 5: Semi-structured interviews

5.1   Introduction

This chapter examines the effects of the conflation of skilled migration and higher education policy from 2001 to 2010, from the multiple perspectives of the actors in the field of higher education. The chapter introduces a series of insights as a contribution to new knowledge in international education. As indicated in Chapters 1 and 3, the research questions investigate the intended and unintended consequences of the policy conflation and how it shaped international students and the people who work directly or indirectly with them, thereby making their experiences more visible to the reader (Denzin 1989, p. 10).

The interviews were conducted with two international students; an employer from an information technology (IT) company; university academics; university student support staff; and government officials. The research will focus on two international students who have graduated from an Australian university, and their experience of studying in Australia and their interactions with government, universities and the market surrounding the merger of higher education and migration policies. The respondents for the interviews were chosen because they all occupied one or more positions in relation to the field of international education (Lingard et al. 2005). The combination of people and policies are also reflected in the primary topics identified in Chapter 2, Literature Review.

The timing of the interviews is important. They were conducted at the end of the conflation, when changes to migration policies were being enacted in the reforms of February 2010 (Evans 2010). The chapter leads to a summary of the findings in Chapter 6, and emergent insights from the research (Becker 1967, p. 23) in order to contribute to the field of international education (Dunkin 2000, p. 137) and expand 'alternate moral viewpoints', with the learning and insights gained from the respondents (Becker 1967, p. 24).

As outlined in the methodology, the semi-structured interviews are analysed using a conceptual framework that draws on Bourdieu's concepts and tools of fields, capitals, positions/position-taking and habitus, in order to understand the transactions between and within the fields (Lingard et al. 2005, p. 769). The foundation of Bourdieu's sociology is first and foremost relational and concerns the structured social spaces that exhibit 'inherent logics of practice' between people and their capitals (Bourdieu 1998c, p. vii). The Bourdieuian theory of structured social spaces (Bourdieu 1998b, pp. 40-41) brings to the surface the underlying habitus, positionality and capitals of respondents in their own fields.

Each respondent has relationships with one or more of the three fields of government, tertiary education (universities) and the market for international students, as identified in Chapters 1 and 2, and each respondent has a stake in the broader discourses surrounding higher education. Except for Respondent 8, the respondents are or were insiders within the fields of universities and government, and brought their respective capitals and influence to bear on the problems posed by the research – that is, the issues surround the conflation of migration and higher education policies to create a market of international students.

Because fields are relational, they are always contested spaces within the objective structures in the social world (Bourdieu 1986a, 1987). These spaces are epitomised by struggles for dominance and power by people wanting to transform or maintain the field structure (Bourdieu 1998c). Bourdieu's praxis was the integration of the theoretical via the empirical and thus his research was embedded in the lived experiences of people (Rawolle & Lingard 2008, p. 729). People embody habitus, which is their 'durable transposable dispositions', and these affect their 'feel for the game' (Bourdieu 1996b, p. 213) and the way they operate within their field.

Despite the fact that habitus is socially conditioned for people, it is not wholly conscious but based on a network of objective relations within the person's field (Naidoo 2004, p. 458). However, habitus is consolidated and embodied through logics of practice and strategies deployed to retain and maintain a person's position in the field (Bourdieu, 1986a; Rawolle & Lingard 2008, p. 730). A person's habitus is the site of their understanding of the world, and in order to live in the social world we need the kind of orientation to social action and awareness that habitus gives us (Calhoun et al. 2002, p. 262). It is through this process that the experiences of the individual are related to broader and ecumenical themes within a society (Chase 1995, p. 1). Thus, research endeavours to make the world more 'visible' (Stake 1995, p. 100) by taking the reader on a journey from the known to the unknown (Chase 1995, p. 15).

5.1.1 Analysis of the semi-structured interviews

In analysing the interviews, the respondent's positionality was established and grounded in the individual responses as they proffered solutions to the questions posed relative to their occupation or role. The analysis looked at how the respondents engaged with the discourses and the fields, and how they applied their influence and capitals for the transformation or preservation of their fields. There is a complexity to the roles played by the respondents in terms of being insiders and outsiders in the fields of universities, government and the

market for international students. Some respondents play more than one role and therefore bring multiple perspectives to the research. Each interview was unique and contextualised, and each respondent was asked questions about the conflation from different angles. As described in Chapter 4, Document and review analysis, the participants' positions as either insiders or outsiders shaped their responses.

Each respondent took a particular position in relation to the conflation. While some supported the status quo, they also wanted to impose more rigorous standards on the recruitment and selection of students. Other respondents wanted to transform the field to a more normative model but not change the conflation itself.

5.2   Respondent 1 – Academic expert

Respondent 1 is a university insider, as an academic expert working within the discourses of globalisation, higher education and international student mobility. He has published widely on the globalisation of higher education, neoliberalism and the marketisation of higher education, and, more recently, on international student welfare. The respondent's habitus was a product of accumulated professional practice over decades. He possessed significant intellectual, status and influence as capital in his field nationally and internationally.

The work of this respondent has had a transformative effect on the arguments for globalisation and higher education, and he has provided expert advice to both federal and state governments on the internationalisation of higher education. He has reframed the debate in Australia about neoliberal ideologies shaping universities by writing about the 'new management' paradigm apparent in the higher education sector. His work referred to the utilisation of conceptual and practical technologies (logics of practice), such as economic rationalism and new managerialism, as dominant cross-field influences from economics and business designed to subsume traditional approaches in the field of education (Maton 2005).

The focus of the interview was the conflation of government policies for migration and higher education, and the mechanisms for regulating the international student industry – for example, the Education Services for Overseas Students (ESOS) legislation – that relied on federal–state relations. The main topics in the interview were federal and state government relations, relations between the two primary government departments involved in the conflation – that is, the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC), formerly the Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA), and the

Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations (DEEWR) – English language standards of international students, and bilateral agreements between countries.

The respondent took a position that the issues that arose for international students were being resolved through government reviews, inquiries and legislation that engaged and influenced universities, international students and the labour market. However, he believed that the policy conflation had created some unintended negative consequences. His strategy to rectify those consequences was that the Commonwealth should mandate the states to enforce the ESOS legislation and that English standards should meet industry standards.

The demand-driven model of migration, he said, was based on a model that valued profit over quality, and he suggested mandating English language standards commensurate with industry. The respondent supported instituting a broad set of bilateral agreements between the Commonwealth and sending countries. Australia, he proposed, by using its existing legislative framework, could create infrastructure to better manage global mobility of international students (in the long term, this infrastructure could also assist with potentially large numbers of climate refugees).

5.2.1   Federal and state relations

Given his influential position, the respondent presented well-constructed arguments about the need for strengthened legislation and compacts with states through the Baird Review of the ESOS Act. He recommended further strategies to strengthen, and provide clearer relationships of responsibility between, the federal and state governments:

> I think that the current ESOS Act that governs international education in Australia confirms that it is regulated. The ESOS Act is a federal act that works on the basis of the federal government mandating and calling into account the provider institutions. The states are positioned as agents of the federal government enforcing the act. But in practice most of the enforcement is at a federal level.

The respondent suggested a restructuring of the federal–state government compact for the regulation of the international student industry by broadening it to the purview of the Council of Australian Governments (COAG). He argued:

> The Council of Australian Governments is currently having a discussion about how to regulate the industry involving both federal and state governments and that may lead to some combined machinery or understanding of the states' role, but none of

us is privy to those discussions and they are not transparent so whether they are taking the direction I have suggested is needed is unknown.

This reconfiguration of the federal–state government relationship could be mandated under the ESOS Act (2000), Respondent 1 said. He sought to use his capital to influence the field of government on this point:

The ESOS Act could be expanded to incorporate state responsibilities and it could mandate the states as agents of the government in the way it mandates the institutions as agents of the government to carry out certain functions and provide certain services and so on. That would require a compact between the federal and state levels of governments and that requires internal machinery to be created for those kinds of discussions.

The respondent argued that a demand-driven model for skilled migration needed the cooperation and engagement of the states, while the Commonwealth advanced a closer fit between graduate outcomes and the needs of the economy. However, the respondent took the position that the conflation was a legitimate pathway for migration via education:

There will still be migration-related entry through education. The bottom line is that the federal government wants a lower level of skilled migration as much as anything else. It's not just the commercial rorting that has led to the changes in the skilled labour list; there is also a feeling in Canberra that they would like to drive a closer fit between the graduate outcomes and the needs of the economy.

While it is the states that are responsible for international student welfare and social integration, the lack of coordination and clarity between the state and federal roles for regulating the international student industry meant that the bureaucracy was 'derelict' in its duty by allowing dishonest private colleges to register and provide courses. Oversight and coordination through COAG was a mediating strategy to counteract the implementation hiatus in the federalised system.

5.2.2   Federal departmental relations

Student safety and rights were key issues for the respondent; he said that the people under discussion were not only students but potential migrants and therefore the responsibility of governments. As well as the contribution that international students made to the economy, international students contributed to the culture of Australia. Evidence of the need for

tighter regulation of the international student industry, the respondent stated, extended to the conflicting agendas of the two main Commonwealth departments involved in designing and setting the policies. In relation to the sites of contest between DEEWR and DIAC, he observed:

> My impression is that, firstly, DIMIA or DIAC has generally provided a quantity of student visas in accordance with the requesting providers, or the students have been identified as suitable to come into programs through the student visa process. There haven't been great problems there.

His key arguments were that that there were field, capital and cultural differences between the departments and that, despite visa processing regimes and practices being reasonably efficient, there was a historical context of conflicting missions and policy habitus:

> But Immigration has a long history of dealing with students as other temporary migrants and indeed everyone who is on the immigration track until they get permanent residency, in an abrupt, difficult, bureaucratic manner, and there is a lot of evidence suggested in our study [that students] had bad experiences dealing with what was then DIMIA. This was a period when students were being thrown into detention when they breached their work requirements. That is no longer happening, although they do detain them for other reasons in some areas.

The respondent analysed that the conflation caused a problem for international students in that the marketing of higher education in Australia came with an implicit guarantee of a migration outcome (Baas 2006; Baird 2010; Birrell & Perry 2009, pp. 70-71). The decoupling of the conflation through the February 2010 reforms (Evans 2010) made it very difficult for those students, he said, who thought they could convert their studies into skilled visas and who were excluded due to the cutting of the Migration On Demand List (MODL) (Birrell & Healy 2010), which had allowed bonus visa points for occupations identified as being part of the national skills shortage. Students invested their capitals of time, work, money and energy to study in Australia and to achieve permanent residency.

The issue with marketing higher education with the implicit guarantee of migration and the subsequent impact of the reforms was also referred to by Respondents 5 and 6, who said it had 'ripped apart' the lives of the students dependent on being able to achieve permanent residency once they had graduated.

5.2.3 English language standards

When questioned about the success of international students in the labour market in achieving positions commensurate with their qualifications, Respondent 1 replied that he believed there was not enough 'hard data' to substantiate a claim that employers were not hiring international students in their fields of study. He believed most evidence was anecdotal:

> Is there any hard data on that though? We think it's unfortunate graduates are graduating with low IELTS [International English Language Testing System] levels. We know there are an awful lot of people out there with qualifications in business and engineering driving taxis, but I have not seen any strong data and it's all anecdotal stuff really.

While the respondent conceded that 'most employers don't select on merit' and that perhaps English language proficiency was an issue for international students, what was important, he identified, was engagement between universities, governments and industries and that governments and institutions set a higher level of English proficiency as an entry criterion to education courses in Australia. He also contended that there should be a case for the standard of English language proficiency in industry to be applied to the university entry requirements, because students would transition from one to the other.

> I do think there is a good argument to say that standards of industry should be central to the Australian educational experience of domestic and international students. That international education is a guarantee that when people graduate they'll have good English language communication skills related to the academic context and that they should transfer into the work context fairly well at a general level.

Despite the conviction that international students' English language capabilities should meet industry standards, the respondent acknowledged that it is the market that is driving the industry and that the universities, like governments, are held in the gravitational field of generating money. However, he referenced the positions he had taken in the discourses and argued for control of a specific field of the English language standard:

> You will find that most of my suggestions, like the English language, might involve increased costs and higher quality in terms of international education and

that of course works against the logic of the commercial market where we are
trying to maximise unit revenue from each student and trying to minimise costs.

Scholars have found that English language proficiency is a principal barrier to entry into
the workforce for international graduates (Arkoudis et al. 2009; Blundell 2007; Jobson &
Burke 2005c). Furthermore, research suggests that employers and recruiters discriminate
against candidates for jobs based on the ethnicity of their names (Booth, Leigh &
Varganova 2012). Although English language played a role in the problems with the safety
of international students, Respondent 1 claimed that it was the states and territories that
were responsible for student safety and security.

5.2.4   Bilateral agreements between countries

Respondent 1 supported closer bilateral arrangements with the major sending countries that
are genuinely concerned for the welfare of their citizens studying in Australia (Marginson
et al. 2010; Nyland et al. 2008). Closer relationships would contribute to the improvement
of educational quality and student safety and security, he argued. The respondent suggested
strategies for the broader relations, and discussed implications for a sustainable field of
international education, including ramifications for trade and diplomacy. He proposed the
strategy as a compact for international relations between various sending countries and
Australia. Through these multiple bilateral arrangements, further agreements could be
reached on the rights of international students in host countries and the standards of entry
and exit for degrees in each country. Such an arrangement would involve government-to-
government discussions on educational trade and diplomacy of member countries:

> The way that I would see the issues related to mobile populations being better
> handled in future would firstly be bilateral agreements being developed with key
> source countries, in the case of students, and that means China, India, Malaysia,
> Singapore and so on … Establishing protocol for a compact sets the rights and
> protections that students are provided with in Australia.

The respondent extrapolated the long-term value of such an agreement or compact in
establishing the mechanisms to manage and process large, globally mobile populations of
students, in that it could be a model for waves of hundreds of thousands of climate change
refugees in the future:

> The point I wanted to make though is if you establish enough bilateral agreements
> and start to create global standards you can move towards multilateral approaches

and we will have to do that with refugees. There are going to be a lot of climate change refugees … I think if we can deal with international students on a multilateral basis in the next 15 years we might then establish systems that will work with other mobile populations.

5.2.5   Summary

The respondent approached the international student phenomenon as a problem that had solutions in the legislative and governance structures of federal and state/territory relationships and pointed out that the ESOS Act was initially designed by the Commonwealth to be enforced by the states and territories. However, the respondent believed that the details regarding student welfare, housing, consumer protection and the responsibilities of institutions and their agents was insufficient until the recommendations of the Baird Review of the ESOS Act in 2010. The respondent stated that there would always be a pathway to skilled migration through education. The government reforms to migration were designed to reduce the volume of skilled visas and drive a closer fit between graduate outcomes and the economy.

A framework for a successful international education and migration program, he suggested, would mean legislation that mandated the states to act as agents for the Commonwealth regulation and sanction of the provider institutions and to ensure the safety and welfare of international students. Closer ties with sending countries and establishment of bilateral agreements regarding the standards of entry and exit into the program, including an industry standard for English language capability, would create a useful template for future management of mobile populations.

5.3   Respondent 2 – Senior government official

Respondent 2 was the Chairman of the New South Wales (NSW) Community Relations Commission, Dr Stepan Kerkyasharian at the time of the interview. He did not mind being identified for the purposes of the research, as it was an opportunity to project his ideas to transform the field. The NSW Community Relations Commission has a legislative responsibility to encourage and promote community harmony and to advise the NSW Government on issues of migration policy and settlement.

The respondent is an outspoken public figure with a media profile in the arena of migrant relations and community harmony. He also provided a personal dimension to the research project as a migrant to Australia with an understanding of the challenges facing many

migrants settling in Australia, including international students. The respondent derived his significant habitus, capitals and power from a high-level position within the NSW Government and in the community, where his status, knowledge and experience were consolidated by his role to further the government's agenda to enhance and maintain positive cultural relations in Australian society. His influence also accrued from his intellectual understanding of the discourses and their interconnection within the fields explored by the research those of state and federal governments:

> Our commission has legislated responsibility to promote community harmony in a multicultural society and that's where we come into the picture because many of the international students are of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds and invariably there isn't media coverage of the issues in reference to cultural and racial issues.

Kerkyasharian had interests in the fields of international students and migration policy as specific to the fields of governments and universities. In his role as chair of the commission he spoke for, represented and led the gamut of migrant and ethnic community organisations. He explained the purview of his organisation:

> Our commission has legislated responsibility to promote community harmony in a multicultural society and that's where we come into the picture because many of the international students are of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds and invariably there isn't media coverage of the issues in reference to cultural and racial issues.

The main topics covered during the interview were: the education reforms and changes over the past 20 years in Australia; the socio-economic drivers of migration, such as an ageing population and a shrinking tax base; the marketisation of higher education; and the shift to temporary migration. Also discussed was the lack of information available to international students, the value of international students to Australia and its economy, and the racism some international students experienced in Australia.

5.3.1   Educational reform in Australia

As an insider to the NSW Government, Kerkyasharian was strongly critical of the federal and state governments' approaches to the conflation. He denied that their motive was to maintain a temporary worker relationship with many thousands of international students who were unable to secure permanent residency. He described this policy prescription as

treating international students as 'de facto guest workers'. The respondent believed that the deregulation and marketisation of the universities to attract international students had led to poor policy and poor regulation of that policy to the detriment of international students.

Kerkyasharian believed that, to understand the current situation in Australia's education system, one must look at the changes in direction and policy of the preceding 20 years, including the conversion of the technical colleges into second-tier universities. He outlined the national and institutional trends and the major reforms to higher education and VET in Australia since the Dawkins reforms of 1989 (Dawkins 1988):

> I think there are some more fundamental issues that need to be addressed to better understand the current debate and the current issues surrounding international students. We can see the changes in direction and policy over the last 20 to 22 years.

5.3.2 Socio-economic drivers for migration

The respondent analysed the questions about migration and international students by placing them within the context of the socio-economic challenges in Australia, in particular an ageing workforce and a shrinking tax base (Access Economics 2009), and the impact of the technological revolution on industry and education. He engaged in the discourse of neoliberalisation of education, saying it was a contributory factor to the 'quasi-deregulation of the university system and the introduction of the HECS system', as well as the development of a more vocationally oriented education system.

However, the respondent criticised the government for poor public consultation on the conflation, and poor policy development and implementation in the area. His agreement to being identified in the research project revealed a strategy to bring his capitals to bear in further transforming the fields through the platform of this research. The respondent's views demonstrated a deep understanding of the relationship between the discourses and the fields in which they are manifest, the translation of policy for migration into increased marketisation of higher education:

> I think there are some more fundamental issues that need to be addressed to better understand the current debate and the current issues surrounding international students. We can see the changes in direction and policy over the last 20 to 22 years. Coming from another dimension, of course, the ageing of the Australian population and its impact on the changes to immigration policy. Neither of these have been very

clearly articulated unfortunately by governments and consequently there has not been a clear public policy based on discussion and consultation. The universities have come under pressure to generate as much funds as they can to survive they've been encouraged to go overseas and therefore they have gradually adopted aggressive marketing strategies.

Although Respondent 2 held a number of state and state–federal roles concerned with the policies for international students and migration, he was in conflict with the bureaucracies responsible for the conflation because of his position on international students as potential migrants. He was also directly involved in both state and Commonwealth responses to the crisis in the international student industry between 2009 and 2010, highlighted by the Senate Inquiry into the Welfare of International Students (2009), regarding student safety and the market failures of private colleges collapsing, leaving students stranded without courses. He expressed the conflict thus:

> The immigration area is this, with our ageing population the government, particularly in the last 15 years, has gradually moved toward temporary migration and toward adopting a 'guest worker' system, and every time I mention the word 'guest worker' to immigration officials they throw a tantrum and say that is not what we are doing. The reality is that the visa system is nothing more and nothing less than a 'guest worker' visa.

Kerkyasharian took the position that policies on international students treated them as temporary migrants that could be sent home. He believed that the bureaucracy and the government were negligent and 'myopic' as far as understanding the real impact on students' lives of those policies. He said the bureaucracy lacked the perspective of history and lacked common sense, and that the government's strategy to deal with those issues was 'deluded' and in denial of the truth. The respondent's analysis was highly critical of the government and its bureaucracy for a lack of long-term commitment to international students.

5.3.3   Marketisation of higher education

Kerkyasharian directly challenged the competency of the bureaucracy for under-regulating private colleges and allowing market failures when they closed and went bankrupt.

> I think the problem emanated right from registration. I've been made aware of colleges providing a master's degree operating from a two-room office block. How

could that be registered? Who approved that? And if they lied, why wasn't it checked out? These are not even systemic failures; they are outright negligence on the part of the bureaucracy. And there is total political oversight of the process.

The respondent claimed that within the field of migration policy there were practices used by DIMIA (formerly known as DIAC) to suppress the aspirations of many former international students who were unable to gain permanent residency. This meant that they were disadvantaged and indebted, making them a more vulnerable workforce who could become a 'poison alumni' (Wesley 2009) on returning to their home countries. The idea that disillusioned and exploited former international students may become a 'poison alumni' (Wesley 2009) gained currency in the field of higher education because of the potential impact on trade and diplomatic relations. In section 5.4, Respondent 4 also alludes to a 'poison alumni' of students who believe that they should be able to get jobs and migrate after their studies, but who were excluded because they did not meet the criteria.

Australian governments had failed to make the case for international students as migrants, according to Kerkyasharian. From a policy and community position, the nexus of the ageing workforce and the need for immigration had not been 'clearly articulated', he said. The pressure on universities to move to the market in international students to raise revenue and aggressively market themselves overseas, combined with the merging of vocational studies and university education, were trends that had contributed to the government creating migration policy geared to temporary migration. Kerkyasharian questioned the motivations of governments as 'hypocritical', saying that many hundreds of thousands of international students came through the education system with an expectation of permanent residency. He stated:

> The government turned around and said to these people, 'You've got this all
> wrong; this is about education; it's never been about immigration.' Those are very
> correct interpretations of what the Deputy Prime Minister has said. This flies in the
> face of everything else that has been going on … So we either have a situation if
> you look at Australia from an international perspective that the Australian
> Government did not have a clue of what was happening in this $13–15 billion
> industry, always being very hypocritical about it.

In attempting to transform the balance of the field of international students and migration, he demonstrated his capitals as power and influence within the advisory structures of

governments. He suggested that government could adopt a position that was transformative for the field:

> I sit at an official state–Commonwealth meeting where the Commonwealth talked about the changes to the regulations and they said there were three options … I said to them that there was a fourth option, to say that all those people who have come can continue on the basis on which they came here. But to them this was not on option. Tens of thousands of people are now severely disadvantaged, lots of them will become illegal immigrants … So we've basically got a bureaucracy that that has been negligent in the pursuit of its responsibilities and in the process is slurring the whole education industry.

The connectivity between the provision of education and the opportunities for visas meant that the necessary standards had slipped, Kerkyasharian said, and the value chain from the English language schools through to the packaged masters by coursework degrees had evolved over time to meet the greater supply of international students. A huge growth was created through inducements to migrate (Koleth 2010, p. 3; Wesley 2009, p. 4).

5.3.4   Lack of information for students

The respondent expressed concern that there was a lack of information available to international students prior to enrolling in a course. He said the NSW Community Relations Commission's website was designed to rectify that situation, by providing information about the country, including the culture of Australia. Kerkyasharian humanised the debate about higher education and migration and created more contested discourses through his honesty and criticism of the accepted orthodoxy in the fields of government and bureaucracy.

Later in this chapter, Respondent 7 highlights a lack of information about university life and work in Australia, as well as about cultural mores.

5.3.5   Education as a pathway to permanent residency

The respondent argued strongly for a better deal for international students because there was a dual benefit for Australia. He argued that, on the one hand, international students were paying full fees to study at Australian universities and vocational colleges and, at the same time, they were working in casual and part-time jobs while they were studying, and they were therefore paying taxes (Birrell 2005).

He took the position, when analysing the workforce, that international students would often take jobs that Australian workers were not interested in, such as in fast-food outlets, warehouses and petrol stations, and as cleaners (Baas 2006). The workforce was not temporary, he continued, and the government could not send them home after five or 10 years, as there was an expectation that these workers would be settled and employed in their new country. In turn, the international students had a clear expectation that studying in an Australian university would lead to permanent residency (Baas 2006):

> People who can achieve a certain amount of academic excellence in occupational skills have no other path to come to Australia than a student visa. And yet the government has reached a stage where we have more than 400,000 currently in Australia and where the majority of students have come in through the vocational pathway with clear expectations of permanent residency. The government has turned around and said to these people, 'You have got all this wrong, this is about education it has never been about immigration.'

In contesting the government's claims, Respondent 2 said the promise of permanent residency was the 'carrot' for universities and the VET colleges to attract greater numbers of students. He went on:

> We are in fantasy land if we think that wasn't the case and for the Commonwealth Government to bring in the Cap and Cease legislation in 2010 and say to 400,000 students, 'You've got this wrong, this is about education and has never been about immigration', is deluded.

Respondent 2 believed that it was important that Australians recognised that education was another pathway to migration, as the people who choose an education pathway are the best possible migrants. The Australian people, Respondent 2 argued, 'respond to signals from their governments', and our political leaders had been making theoretical policy that was not based on the daily reality of our international students. International students were motivated and prepared to go through the 'trials and tribulations' of studying at a tertiary level in another country and another language, Respondent 2 claimed: 'They pay taxes and contribute to the society and for three to four years gain an understanding of our culture and familiarity with Australian society.'

Kerkyasharian argued that the fact that private colleges over-enrolled chefs and hairdressers without giving them quality training was due to the negligence of the state bureaucracy in not enforcing the legislation. Moreover, he believed that the changes to the

legislation for migration would severely disadvantage tens of thousands of students because the bureaucracy had been inefficient in pursuing its responsibility and the whole education industry had been slurred as a result (Baird 2010; Wesley 2009).

The strategy he would use to change the field of governments and universities would be to articulate education as an overt pathway for legitimate immigration:

> Why don't we introduce two different visa strands? One is a permanent migration pathway through education, where you clearly identify the pathway, the various crossover points on the pathway. The first would be to learn English very much like it is now, but make it very clear that if you choose this pathway then there is an expectation for you to stay on in Australia and become a permanent resident. The other pathway can be very educational and would be strictly controlled and it would be for postgraduate students. It would be still specific.

Restricting the international students' work visa to 20 hours a week meant that they were under stress, as they did not have the resources to live, especially in major cities (Baas 2006). International students, he claimed: 'Don't have the financial means, they don't come here with a cheque book or with grandparent's inheritance they need to support themselves.'

5.3.6   Racism in Australia

When questioned about the violence against international students, Kerkyasharian said that, while he believed racism did exist in Australia, he did not think there was a rejection of international students per se:

> I certainly support the view that there is a racist attack on international students. But let me qualify because it's not something I can say in 10 seconds. I don't think that the people who sit around and say 'look let's go and bash an Indian student tonight' or 'let's go and bash a Chinese student tonight' exist. It is possible that there may be a group of people out there who see a person of Indian background walking down the street at 11 o'clock at night and at that point they may say, 'Oh, look, there's that Indian student; let's go and bash him up.' I don't think it's premeditated racist agenda and it may well be that those people may have bashed anyone at that time who appeared meek or vulnerable.

Australians have a responsibility to welcome students, Respondent 2 said. However, there were no mechanisms in place to promote a sense of community responsibility for these international students. All levels of government could be involved in settling these students into our country and making them feel included. Instead: 'We have had to fight to get travel concessions for international students, for example … it is wrong that when the state has the capacity to support, but instead holds back.'

5.3.7 Summary

Kerkyasharian's engagement with the field of labour markets derives as much from his own life experience as a migrant to Australia as his professional position. He put forward powerful arguments for the transformation of the fields of government, higher education and migration. His position on long-term temporary migration is that it is a symptom of the education–migration nexus that allowed the government to change the goal posts for permanent residency, thus excluding former international students. The respondent believed international students were in fact the best possible migrants, as they were productive members of society, had a good understanding of Australian society and paid for their education and taxes.

As we shall see, the language of this respondent relating to the creation of a temporary workforce without rights or 'de facto guest workers' is replicated by Respondent 5, although for Kerkyasharian the policy demonstrated 'myopia' towards the consequences and for Respondent 5 it was a blatant breach of the students' human rights.

In order to transform the fields of migration and higher education, this respondent, during his exchanges with the relevant bureaucracies, used his capitals (position and power) to critique the policy's 'guest worker' approach. His comments were designed to be controversial and provocative, and at the same time to promote and support international students and their integration as migrants into Australia.

5.4 Respondent 3 – Senior university academic

Respondent 3, known to the researcher through professional circles, was an academic with 40 years' teaching experience and able to provide an insider view from a teaching and learning perspective. His habitus, capitals and positionality derive from the extent of professional experience in the field of higher education, his expertise and knowledge, and the publications that he has written, which have also influenced the discourse covered by this thesis. The respondent also had knowledge of migration and population issues relevant

to his role as expert adviser to the federal government on immigration and the necessary balance between skills migration and humanitarian and family migration.

Respondent 3 worked within the field and discipline of politics and economics, with a specialisation in neoliberalism and marketisation by governments of higher education and public services, so his research crossed over all four discourses that form the core of this thesis. His service at the university for which he worked had spanned four decades of change and reform, when neoliberalism and globalism were the two most dominant trends in the political economy. As with Respondent 2, the Chairman of the NSW Community Relations Commission, Respondent 3 also spoke of the long-term changes and reforms to higher education over the past 20 years and reflected on the changes to curricula and the increase in the numbers of students at university, including international students.

The key topics discussed in the interview were higher education reform and the market model for universities, including the decrease in government funds; the course concentrations and choices linked to the migration of international students; low levels of English and the impact on learning; the difference in pedagogy that emphasised competencies and modularised learning; and the need for inclusion and engagement in learning and student life.

5.4.1   Reforming education and the market model

The respondent gave a historical account of his experience as a lecturer at the same university over many decades, including teaching students from around the developing world:

> Over that period of time, obviously there have been major changes taking place in the higher education sector. More students, more international students in particular of course … But also I think generally a more instrumental view of education has developed which is encapsulated by phraseology like 'the knowledge nation' and 'the learning society'.

At the same time, he observed that within the field of universities technology had changed exponentially; so too had curricula and students' approaches to the work and study balance. This meant that the majority of students now worked part-time and were juggling their time, energy, assignments, work commitments and social lives. Respondent 3 identified this trend as a product of an 'instrumentalist' paradigm in higher education that responded to the economic criteria that are dominant in education and was ideologically driven by the

need for economic outcomes. He had a public position on the neoliberal ideology of market-driven policies and discourses:

> In other words, the economic criteria have started to become rather dominant in higher education, which is partly driven through funding processes, partly driven through a more general ideology about the need to have higher education geared to producing better economic outcomes.

It was the constriction of government funding for universities over two decades, Respondent 3 said, that had refocused the mission of universities towards internationalising and placed international students within a process of commercialisation of higher education. The respondent was uncomfortable with the conflation and the implications of linking migration and higher education:

> It may be that the role of international students can usefully be situated in that context: certainly that's how I see it because over my working life the influx of international students has been part of this process of commercialisation of higher education.

This was because the economic criteria had become dominant, he contended, and higher education was being engineered to produce better economic outcomes. Respondent 3 said it was easy to see a natural link to university admission and funding because skilled migration favoured migrants with degrees. International students were part of the market model, with skills development following a vocational trajectory and different assumptions underpinning their interests in particular courses. The courses privileged were the ones with direct specification of knowledge and expectations for students, including the conditions for success.

5.4.2 Course choices for migration

The highest numbers of international students were in accounting and business courses, Respondent 3 said the majority were Chinese and Indian, although he taught classes with a mix of students from different countries. He estimated around 15–20 per cent. Although he had noticed that the accounting courses were dominated by Asians and that 'a lot of Chinese was spoken' in his building, 'there was a tremendous variability' from one department to another.

Respondent 3 thought that critical thinking and cultural pedagogy was less evident in vocationally based courses, although in his discipline area there was cultural interaction between different nationalities that was fostered and encouraged through tutorials. The tutors in Respondent 3's programs were actively engaged with international students in ethnically mixed classes so that disengagement did not become normalised.

5.4.3 English language capability

Students' low levels of English language capability created costs for the universities, Respondent 3 stated; therefore, it was necessary to reinvest in classes for academic language and written skills, which would greatly advantage both students and the university. This respondent took the position that practical strategies would best assist international students and would support and help them to achieve academically.

Respondents 4, 5 and 6 supported this reinvestment idea. Providing international students with academic assistance to improve their English language capability would benefit the students, because limited English skills impacted on their participation in classes and tutorials and, when combined with struggles adapting to Australian culture and the educational system, created isolation and enclavism.

English language proficiency was a 'big factor' in student participation. Respondent 3 observed that for 'Asian students the combination of language and different cultural expectations of the educational system meant there was a real divide'. The respondent was in a position to utilise his capitals to transform the learning experiences of his students: 'All good teachers give information to students about what is expected of them', he said. 'However, this information has now been codified to cater for the diversity of backgrounds, language skills and capacities for learning.'

5.4.4 Pedagogy and inclusion in student life

When asked about ethnic clusters in the student body, Respondent 3 said that it was clear for students of the same nationality to gather together. However, he said, some international students in his experience had a 'passive view of themselves' and did not contribute to tutorials. It was important to introduce strategies early in the semester, he said, so that the existing 'dramatic inequalities in the contributions of students' did not become reproduced and normalised.

International students received an extensive orientation that was embedded into the introduction of the students to Respondent 3's university, but Respondent 3 was unsure to what extent the international students used the student services. Conversely, Respondent 5 in her interview stated that international students were over-represented in her organisation; they sought advice, guidance, counselling and solutions to multiple embedded problems they experienced while living and studying in Australia.

As mentioned above, international students' lack of English skills cause problems for teaching and learning. Respondent 3 considered that the reallocation or cross-subsidising of university funding derived from international students should be channelled into improving their English skills, which would benefit the whole university.

5.4.5 Summary

Respondent 3 disapproved of the conflation, as it constituted a neoliberal marketisation of both education and migration and thus distorted the fields. The trend to commercialise certain courses for an international student market had begun in Respondent 3's department some years ago, in order to generate more income. This represented a direct translation of the discourse of marketisation into the field of universities and international students, he said. He and his colleagues created a commercial program based on international business; however, the international students made it clear they wanted formulas and prescribed strategies to set problems. Respondent 3 deduced that the students who took the course had a 'skills based approach and had pragmatically worked out exactly what they needed to pass' the subject.

Respondent 3 was concerned that the policy conflation created the context where the linking of two policies – which were both important in their own right – had induced perverse incentives to migrate. The higher education sector was steadily changing due to increased student numbers; the enrolment of students with different expectations, languages and cultures; and different technologies and curricula. The respondent drew attention to the impact on the field of student experience and, while recognising an increasingly encroaching market model in the university sector, had developed strategies to transform the fields of university teaching and international student experience.

5.5 Respondent 4 – University careers adviser

Respondent 4 was also known to the researcher through professional circles. She worked in a student services area supporting and assisting international students in career and job

search activities at the international campus of a university in a major Australian city. This respondent was an insider employed in the university field in career preparation, coaching and support services for international and other students. Respondent 4 had accumulated capitals of knowledge and experience of the fields of universities, labour markets and international students that constituted her habitus, but she had limited influence on the field of university operations and international education.

Respondent 4 had previously worked in the same career advisory role in a prestigious university in the United Kingdom, which was equivalent to one of the Group of Eight universities in Australia. Respondent 4's experience working at the Australian university at the time of the interview was very different, she said, to that of her experience in the United Kingdom. Although the needs and lives of international students were the same in the United Kingdom as they were in Australia, the university in the United Kingdom had been better positioned – and better funded – to assist them to succeed. Career development and training was the bridge that connected the students to the logics of practice in the labour market in the United Kingdom and Australia, Respondent 4 explained: it helped them to understand the different industrial and cultural requirements to successfully apply for and find work, both while studying and once they had graduated. In the United Kingdom, the career counsellors interacted directly with employers, both on and off campus. This experience meant that she could convey her knowledge to the international students accessing the service and give them concrete strategies and methods for finding employment in jobs where they would use their qualifications. This idea of support for students in accessing employers and gaining understanding of the rules and mores of job seeking was also raised by Respondent 8 and, to a lesser extent, Respondent 9.

The main topics covered in the interview were the English language capabilities of international students, their access to the Australian labour market, universities' support for international students, and the importance of permanent residency to international students.

5.5.1   English language and international students

English language proficiency is an important issue in both Australia and the United Kingdom, Respondent 4 said, and the first step in achieving it is to gain work experience. However, she stated, some students were exploited by employers who engaged them in free work trials and then did not give them further paid work, and female students were often vulnerable to unethical employers (Nyland et al. 2009).

The position this respondent took was informed and pragmatic. The key to success for international students, Respondent 4 emphasised, was their 'language and communication skills', as these were an 'essential factor' in being able to produce a written application for a job and being able to answer questions at an interview in a clear and concise way. Often students with poor comprehension and verbal skills struggled to perform and be competitive. This assessment of the need to be proficient in English communication was reinforced by Respondent 8 from the field of the labour market.

In fact, for this respondent language communication was 'a core skill' requirement; however, at least half the students that presented to the service had real difficulty with English, she stated. For employers assessing the skills, attitudes and attributes of international students and their ability and willingness to do a job, lacking good English posed a problem. When asked to clarify in relation to students' lack of English capabilities in the Australian university where she worked, Respondent 4 stated:

> The level of English, the level of comprehension was at times shocking. It's hard enough trying to secure work placements and employment as an English speaker; you have to persuade an employer of your abilities, your skills, and the benefits to the employer. Some of these students couldn't understand basic questions like 'What should I wear?' or 'Where are you living?', so how you are going to persuade an employer of your value without even being able to have conversational English is really beyond me.

The respondent took a transformational position and suggested a strategy that would improve the circumstances of the students at the university where she worked. The strategy involved ensuring international students were proficient in English language by requiring them to undertake regular English classes and even a summer school in English prior to enrolment. Poor English meant students were very disadvantaged in the labour market and that they would be competing with other international students, individuals from other ethnic communities, and lower skilled Australian-born jobseekers for jobs and housing: 'I can't believe the lack of English they start their studies with', she said, but they were 'determined, hardworking and realistic'.

Rather than creating a 'poison alumni', Respondent 4 suggested a better strategy would be to:

> [m]ake sure the regulation ensures a structure they have to address. There's a test to get citizenship; why shouldn't you take a test over and above just a bit of paper

they might set in India? Why shouldn't we regulate that their English is of a standard of comprehension to be of a useful level to an employer? That's why employers don't want anything to do with international students.

This statement reinforced the observation by Respondent 1 that mandatory standards for English language would create a positive transformation in the field. However, both respondents acknowledged that the market model of making more money at the cost of enforcing standards took priority for governments and universities.

5.5.2   Accessing the Australian labour market

Unfortunately, graduates did not realise that having a degree in Australia did not guarantee them a job, Respondent 4 stated. Students were disappointed and disillusioned with their experiences of studying and seeking employment. They perceived that money was the prime motivation of universities. This mirrored the experiences and feelings expressed by Respondent 7 and reflected the disillusionment referred to by Respondents 2 and 5 about lack of information and lack of support.

Respondent 4 engaged strategies to transform the field included imparting cultural and labour market knowledge in workshops and one-on-one to international students, especially for job interviews and understanding how an Australian workplace operates. Students needed to realise that a degree has less status in Australia than in developing countries, she said. There was a cultural difference between home countries of international students, in that degrees conferred respect and status – they proved that the degree holder was 'worthy of doing the job' – whereas in Australia and the United Kingdom it was also important for the applicant to prove that they had the skills to do the job, as well as the ability and willingness to fit into a team.

Respondent 4's understanding of the discourse and realities of the marketisation of higher education was reflected in her observations about the commodification of international students and the conflation. She said that for the international students she worked with at the university in Australia permanent residency 'was the holy grail'. Achieving permanent residency was the single most important goal of their studies because it allowed access to the Australian labour market, she stated. She believed the university was derelict in its responsibilities to students because 'it was not in the university's interest to look to closely' at the adequacy of the preparation and education as 'they were making too much money from the market'.

The expectations of the respondent and the career service provided by the Australian university were instrumentalist and cynical, she said, going on to say that the:

> university just focused on 'have you got them a job?', but there seemed no understanding of the process in order to secure employment; you have to be able to articulate and promote yourself.

However, Respondent 4 deployed strategies to counteract the deficiencies she perceived in the management attitudes and in the international students' knowledge by creating and running specialist programs to help the international students to navigate a different culture and labour market. This became a contested field of endeavour in which she struggled to gain her superiors' acceptance of the programs: 'So these programs were not welcomed; it was very much about the stats, [getting] them a job.'

5.5.3 Support for students

At the university, Respondent 4 worked for, the sites of contest revolved around the almost total commercial orientation of the institution, where 98 per cent of the student body was made up of fee-paying international students in their city campuses (Baas 2007, pp. 51-52). As mentioned above, Respondent 4 believed that the management of the university did not express an interest in the students' career development. The respondent felt conflicted because her professional training and habitus/disposition meant she derived meaning from helping students to achieve success in their chosen careers.

What was 'astounding' for Respondent 4 was 'the lack of support at [the university] with curriculum and learning' for international students. For example, 'there was no student association to speak of and no support for students with their immigration or housing issues'. Lack of support for students was confronting for her. It also confirmed the experiences of Respondents 2, 5 and 7 that international students do not receive the sort of support they need, academically, with improving their English language skills, with navigating the difficult migration rules and regulations they face, or – importantly – with obtaining information about life and study in Australia.

The respondent was supportive of international students as they struggled to navigate the new place of learning, courses, culture and expectations. International students were 'resourceful', she said, and yet 'you have a situation where nothing seems fair'. Students used whatever devices they could to maintain their position at university and to attain work,

such as utilising underground networks, taking cash-in-hand jobs, paying other students to help them to pass subjects, or obtaining false medical certificates:

> Look, I'm not meaning to sound cynical, but I'm assuming that the prime motivation for this is money, profit. It's not necessarily in the university's interest to regulate the situation. You can label it anything you like, but the reality is students are coming over and they are being told lies.

This observation closely reflected the statements and experiences of Respondents 5 and 7 regarding honest information about study and work for international students.

5.5.4   Importance of permanent residency

Respondent 4 said that the majority of students she saw were from India, Pakistan and China; she believed that the primary goal of most of these international students was being granted a PR visa, particularly those who were studying a master's degree by coursework. In her experience, they 'were doing it just for PR'. The largest number of master's students was in courses with the highest visa points, accounting, and the second highest visa points, IT.

5.5.5   Summary

Respondent 4 held a position as an insider in student services at an Australian university dedicated to international students. Coming from the United Kingdom, she was shocked by the lack of support these students received at all levels of their student experience, from academic skills to information about how to get work. The students she met were resourceful and hardworking, she said. Despite not being supported or having information that was honest and realistic, they managed to survive through a range of strategies to work the system, work long hours for cash in hand and take advantage of student networks.

As a trainer in career counselling with professional habitus and capitals, Respondent 4 utilised a suite of classes, tools and logics of practice to attempt to transform the field of international student education, either with individuals or small groups. She guided, taught and trained international students to operate within the Australian labour market and the cultural milieu. She sought to transform the field of international students by conveying industry and cultural knowledge to them, thus improving their lives and the field.

The international student experience described by Respondent 4 was fraught: not only had they arrived in Australia with low levels of English for the purposes of getting permanent residency, but the information they received from agents and their university was less than truthful. The higher education sector's motive was to make money, she believed; universities in Australia were making too much money to be concerned with regulating the industry or investing more in students.

5.6   Respondent 5 – Postgraduate student and student advocate

Respondent 5 worked with international students and was an insider in the university system, engaged by an affiliated organisation in an elected representational role. She provided representation, advocacy and policy input for international and Australian-born postgraduate students. The respondent was a postgraduate student with a social justice and international development perspective and a sound understanding of the policy of the conflation, yet she was independent of the restrictions and obligations of being employed by a university and was therefore able to openly critique what she perceived as injustices against international students.

In addition to her habitus and moral capital, Respondent 5 also had intellectual, cultural and experiential capitals that contributed to the weight and status of her position to speak for postgraduate students. For example, the organisation that employed Respondent 5 made a submission to the Senate Inquiry into the Welfare of International Students and to the Baird Review of the ESOS Act, on behalf of postgraduate international students.

The main topics covered in the interview were the human rights of international students; the marketisation of education and migration; English language capability and the role of the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) in university selection; and the international student experience, including their role in the workforce and migration opportunities. The drivers of the conflation were also discussed, as were the effects of the Migration Amendment (Visa Capping) legislation, which threw students' lives into crisis and uncertainty, and the February 2010 reforms.

5.6.1   Human rights concerns for students

Accommodation and affordability of housing were two issues of foremost concern to students. Problems in this area led them to feel excluded from society and that their rights were not recognised, Respondent 5 stated. For many students, these anxieties were compounded, she said, by their difficulty with the English language. The ability to speak,

comprehend and write English was key to both academic and professional success; without this skill, students ran the risk of their disadvantage and disengagement being normalised.

Often the situation that the students found themselves in represented a violation of their rights. This was made worse by their lack of experience or knowledge of a different legal system, Respondent 5 claimed. Their lack of cultural knowledge about Australia and the language barriers they faced also disadvantaged them. The problems for international students that she outlined included academic discrimination, insecure accommodation, harassment – sometimes sexual – and the issue of safety and security.

From the outset, Respondent 5's language and conceptual position-taking regarding international students was closely aligned to that of Respondent 2. Respondent 1 also expressed concern for safety, and Respondent 6 said safety was a primary issue for universities. The affordability of housing close to campus was an issue raised by the Senate Inquiry and the Welfare of International Students; there was a risk that students travelling late at night would be attacked.

As previously noted, from an academic and a professional perspective Respondent 5's lens for the interpretation of the discourses and fields was one of human rights. She believed that her role as an advocate for the interests and welfare of postgraduate students for the university for which she worked could affect a transformation within the fields of international students, higher education and migration:

> I see it as a human rights violation because usually the students we see are having problems with their landlord or the head tenant of their housing, tend to be experiencing discrimination and harassment within their housing – sometimes sexual harassment. I think that experiencing that with your living situation and your home, which is an intimate part of your life, is a very serious thing and makes people feel very unsafe and insecure.

5.6.2 Marketisation of education and migration

Respondent 5 engaged directly with the discourse of marketisation of higher education and understood the implications. She perceived the problem as privatising education and migration and exploiting students as consumers:

> Essentially you are privatising the cost of education and migration to those individuals who may be middle class, they are less financially secure than

Australian middle class, or another developed wealthy country like ours, and the multiplier effect of the money that is coming into the country is huge.

Within those discourses, Respondent 5's analysis identified both governments and universities as the antagonists and students as victims of the system:

Every bit of research about immigration shows that it increases jobs, it increases economic growth and the contribution of students is enormous and completely unrecognised. And the students know it – they know they are being taken for a ride. They are the hidden back end of the Australian economy and they are being super exploited.

5.6.3   English language capability and IELTS

In relation to the university at which she worked, Respondent 5 stated:

The way this university deals with students with English as a second language is this: all international students who have not studied a previous degree in English have to do an IELTS test to gain entry to the university. And the university respond to the English language difficulties amongst the international student cohort by just increasing the admission scores.

The issue of English language capability came up again and again, along with the standardisation that is assumed under the IELTS system. Students may study to the test yet not be able to express themselves in the workplace or in a work placement, the respondent stated. As a postgraduate student from an Indian background, Respondent 5 had a deeper understanding of the language barriers faced by international students and believed that the commercialisation of the IELTS test shelved the responsibility that should be carried by the university to provide substantial support in English language training, particularly in academic settings and work placements. She attempted to influence and change the field of international students through the support of her family and through her connections to the broader Indian community, with mixed results. When asked how students find out about and access her service, she said:

They hear about us or are referred to us through other agencies in the university and that tends to mean they have already sought help and their problems have escalated and there might be multiple and intersecting problems … Those kinds of difficulties are compounded for international students. They are inexperienced with

the systems in Australia and who probably don't come from similar legal background. I think the Chinese students experience particular difficulties because of the systemic differences between Australia and China.

There was also a stigma around English as a second language. Although the universities conducted the IELTS test for admission, the respondent claimed they did not support the students' learning in another language. For example, when postgraduate students needed to do a clinical placement and they had not received enough additional support from the university to practise their English in a professional setting, this made their placement very difficult.

According to Respondent 5, the problem was that the IELTS test is administered for profit and remains an inadequate instrument for academic and professional English (Ingram 2005). Universities, she claimed, were 'too cheap to invest in supporting students' English language improvement and instead rely on the IELTS test'. This, she believed, was a financial strategy to keep increasing the international student quota and the number of postgraduates by coursework, but it used false advertising to recruit those students:

> … there is a major issue [in that] IELTS is administered for profit … I think it is a major barrier to IELTS being [a] useful instrument for measuring English. Everyone in academia is in agreement that relying on an exam is not an effective measure of someone's learning ability and their capacities, and what they have learned. But they are willing to overlook that fact when it comes to IELTS because basically they are just cheap and not willing to invest in the support services that are actually needed to educate their students to the degree that is expected and is needed.

The unintended consequences of the conflation meant recruitment into high visa points courses had created 'enclavism', whereas agents had promised a mixed, diverse cultural experience. They told the students:

> … that the Australian system is very cosmopolitan, a very modern system, where they will learn world standard material academically, but they will also be exposed to other students and experiences, especially at a postgraduate level with professional learning from all over the world.

This is wholly consistent with the views of Respondent 7, whose expectations were dashed when he came face to face with the reality of being lied to about the quality and status of

private colleges in Australia. Respondent 5 and Respondent 7 had worked together to readdress the balance of the fields, including by lobbying the broader Indian community:

> You have probably read in the papers that this university wants to increase its intake of international students and postgraduate students, all of whom pay fees, and that is a financial strategy. We regularly hear that there are financial reasons why the university wants to recruit international and postgraduate course work students, and research students, as well, are money spinners for the university and they cross-subsidise pretty much every other activity they engage in.

5.6.4 The international student experience

Students want a cosmopolitan, inclusive experience with other Australian students and other professionals from all over the world, according to Respondent 5. Enclavism of the international students arose from their isolation from the mainstream majority of students on campus and in classrooms. The students, she argued, were shocked and disappointed when they realised that the multicultural campus they dreamed of, where they could be involved in student life, was non-existent. In addition to this disillusionment, the exploitation by the Australian media – which said that international students were 'here to rip off the system' and that international students enrolled in dodgy courses just to get permanent residency – contributed to the students being discriminated against and maligned:

> Yes, that is actually something that international students find incredibly problematic about their educational experience because they want to come here to experience a cosmopolitan education, they want to be meeting Australians, and also people from other parts of the world … And the students arrive and then find out that is not what's happening, and they are incredibly disappointed.

This respondent took the position that debt and remittance is a dangerous consequence for seeking higher education and migration in another country. The international students were bound by their debt to their families, bankers and extended networks to complete their degrees, to work to support themselves and to stay in Australia long enough to repay the debt. Not only were all concerned left with debt to service in the sending countries but they found that access to the Australian economy through higher education migration did not guarantee permanent residency or a good job.

Indebtedness was the crux of the problem for these students, Respondent 5 said. Students had borrowed money, and their parents had borrowed or sold assets to gain enough collateral to prove the students could support themselves while studying, but really they were just servicing the debt: 'Within the international migration discourse the issue of remittance has become a speculative bubble in the formative banking sector by privatising the education sector', Respondent 5 argued. She went on to say that the cost of migration was very expensive for most families.

The respondent said that 'to the extent that international students and their spouses are supporting the Australian economy, even with restricted work rights and often in lower paid roles, then international students are exploited'. She went on to say that 'everyone wants to make a buck off international students in virtually every part of their lives and students know this and feel taken for a ride'.

Furthermore, Respondent 5 claimed that '"Indian" has become shorthand for "international students"', because Indians are politically savvy and come from a politically active and pluralised democracy and so are more organised – whereas, for the Chinese, gathering together is 'criminalised.' The Indian students in Australia had lobbied the Indian community associations and representative groups, she explained. However, when the respondent engaged the Indian community and their peak bodies during the period of the crisis in international education and the violence that accompanied it between 2009 and 2010, and advocated on behalf of the international students, she found that, while her family supported her as part of the Indian community in Australia, other Indian organisations who had vested commercial interests wanted to take over the situation and silence the students. These organisations wanted to maintain the field relations with governments. Some were VET college owners and providers who were benefitting financially from the international students. Respondent 5 said they were politically conservative and that, in fact, the students who had organised themselves into a political lobbying association to further their cause did not want to be aligned with Indian community organisations – although she said the students were prepared to take the money offered by community organisations. The students did not want to be framed as Indian students; they wanted to work with other international students and thus use a collective capital to effect change of the field and to influence governments and the higher education sector to provide greater security and safety.

International students often had to borrow large sums of money to fund their study in Australia. This resulted in academic and work issues, in that they needed to work while studying to pay back loans. When these students realised that completing their chosen

degree would not necessarily lead to employment and permanent residency, they felt both responsibility for the financial sacrifice their families had made and shame about letting down their families.

5.6.5   The workforce and migration

Respondent 5 recognised that the key drivers in migration policy in Australia are the ageing workforce and skills shortages. The international student body forms a large temporary workforce that Respondent 5 believed was being exploited as it no longer had security of tenure through the PR visa. Respondent 5 took the position that contests the government's motivations for migration policy:

> It is a really interesting form of labour migration in terms of the different forms there are because there are so many ways that students are exploited and that people make a buck off international students in virtually every part of their life. In virtually every part of their life they are exploited to a greater degree than any other Australian resident. The changes to the Migration Act are likely to increase the precariousness of the students' situations, but also subject them to more of the same kind of exploitation.

The cross-field effects of mediatisation of international students were discussed. Respondent 5 expressed apprehension that the internationalisation of higher education in Australia had invoked a discourse within the media which initially cast international students as victims, although this situation was highlighted and politicised by the students themselves becoming outraged by the exploitation and violence against them, and then organised in order to protest. This changed with a growing awareness in the broader community that for some international students studying here was a pathway for migration – consequently, they were stigmatised as trying to cheat and labelled 'visa chasers'.

The cross-field influence in play, for example, was that international students were 'propping up the economy', and yet the government was exploiting them because this was purportedly a trade in higher education. In fact, Respondent 5 claimed, it is the importing of a temporary labour force who have limited rights and who are paying fees to the university sector:

> It is an interesting strategy because there is double dipping from the Australian economy into the international student labour pool. Because while they are students and bring spouses over on restricted visas and have restricted working

rights because of their visas, they do work in lower paid sectors of the economy and later the Australian economy can benefit from their skills.

Respondent 5 was also concerned about the increased marginalisation of international students, for which she held the media largely responsible through its labelling of 'good and bad' migrants. Stereotyping had resulted in social isolation and marginalisation, and this was shaping the subjectivities of those students affected.

The respondent expressed concern and distrust about the media coverage of scandals in international education, as well as the coverage of the attacks against Indians and other safety issues. Respondent 5 believed that the media was exploiting xenophobia, saying that international students were just in Australia to exploit the system to get permanent residency by doing 'dodgy' courses (Baird 2010):

> It is predicated on a division between 'good and bad' migrants, where the goalposts are subjected to being shifted at any moment. I think economically as well it will marginalise students and graduates further because of the precariousness of the situation where their bridging visa can be terminated at any time.

5.6.6   February 2010 reforms

When the February 2010 reforms were enacted, they decoupled the conflation between higher education and migration and had a 'catastrophic effect' on the lives of the students. Respondent 5 argued that the Migration Amendment Act (Visa Capping) legislation was clearly 'racist' because the minister was given discretion to cap migration intakes for specific skills areas and to cease visa applications, with no recourse to legal mechanisms for former international students who were awaiting permanent residency while exercising their right to work:

> It's because essentially people are putting their lives on hold and the Australian Government is requiring [them] to put their lives on hold in order to work here for whatever remuneration. Their taxes are taken up by the state and they have no guarantee what the future of their life will be.

She also believed that the February 2010 reforms and subsequent legislation (Evans 2010) had put students in a very precarious position because all the messages they had received, both implicitly and explicitly, from governments and agents, indicated that after they had

completed their study permanent residency was a viable outcome of their investment (Birrell & Healy 2010; Evans 2008):

> I think that the public discourse has been completely unaccountable to the students themselves and what has happened with migration laws has ripped people's lives apart. It has devastated people and it's going to devastate more people.

The changed laws are an incentive for international students to overstay their visas because of the 'ridiculous amount of money' they had to invest to get an education, Respondent 5 stated.

The respondent claimed that former students became potential migrants, and where migrants are temporary anywhere in the world they have fewer rights. This policy, she went on, is a migration policy and therefore a 'de facto temporary migration labour program'. A temporary labour migration program increased the uncertainty and mobility of the international students and increased their vulnerability to exploitation. This position-taking mirrored that of Respondent 2 in his interview.

The ambiguity of the government's real motives for continuing without concern for the students caught in limbo was demonstrated by the Migration Amendment (Visa Capping) Bill 2010, legislation that created a division between 'good' or 'genuine' students and 'bad' students who were really only studying in Australia to gain permanent residency. Thus, the government changed the definitions and rules around the migration program and changed the avenues to permanent residency that were previously available to students who had completed two years at a higher education institution in Australia.

The February 2010 reforms to migration, including visa capping, came out of the federal government's decision to disconnect the policy relationship between skilled migration and higher education courses that offered points towards permanent residency and created huge anxiety and uncertainty for many students as they were no longer working towards a visa with an 'implicit guarantee' of residency, as Respondent 1 stated. Respondents 2, 5 and 6 confirmed that the policy reversal had deleterious effects for those students who had depended on getting a PR visa and staying in Australia.

5.6.7 Summary

Respondent 5 exhibited a supportive and protective habitus towards international students, as well as moral indignation and righteousness about what she perceived as financially

driven behaviour and morally bankrupt position-taking by universities and governments. She understood and passionately articulated the discourses of marketisation and of human rights. The capitals Respondent 5 exerted to change the fields of universities and government were her work as an advocate for international students, her philosophical and ethical commitments to fairness and justice, and her community connections and life experience as a student of Indian background in Australia.

Respondent 5 said that international students contribute to the economy but do not have rights. They are discriminated against and vilified in the press, and they often feel unsafe. The exigencies faced by international students in a marketised/privatised education system in Australia, such as academic discrimination and isolation, are common, she claimed. English language capability and the IELTS testing regime was integral to a market for international education, as was the student experience, including debt, accommodation and knowledge of cultural and academic systems, legal responsibilities and industrial rights.

The debt vulnerability and uncertainty that international students faced in the light of government policies systematised the exploitation of those students on many levels and made them desperate. This, the respondent claimed, was not a morally defensible position for either the university for which she worked or the government.

In terms of the development of the discourses on migration policy and the marketisation of higher education, Respondent 5 directly linked the mobility of international students to the development of a speculative banking sector in sending countries, where loans were leveraged against international students' intended migration outcomes.

5.7   Respondent 6 – University student counsellor

Respondent 6 worked for the same organisation as Respondent 5. He was an insider and paid employee of an organisation allied to a university, and he worked as a student counsellor and adviser for postgraduate students. Respondent 6's client group were predominantly international students, although he said 'we're here to represent all postgraduate students of the university'. International students present with a range of issues; however, he found that often one issue was 'embedded' within multiple others. Respondent 6 used his role and skills to reset the balance of international student experience within the field of the university for which he worked by supporting students.

The respondent's capitals included professional knowledge and qualifications in the field of student counselling as well as his experience and support of postgraduate students. Furthermore, he had an understanding of and compassion for the struggles of international

students. For example, he noted that many international students needed to work in paid employment to support themselves, travelled long distances to get home from work, were often tired and stressed, and therefore found their assignments difficult. International students came to Respondent 6 to ask for his help with their lives, English language skills, assignments and time management. In short, they needed help to balance work and study.

He reflected on questions about the employment prospects of international students, their specific interests outside of university life and their challenges, saying that the education providers were not responsible for employment. For those students that did present with problems finding employment, he said:

> we tend to refer students to the university employment service for assistance in finding work as we're not specialised in the field. However, we encourage international students to network at events held by the university and to attend career fairs.

The main topics of discussion in the interview with Respondent 6 were the contribution his organisation made to the Senate Inquiry into the Welfare of International Students, the struggles and problems faced by students, the consequences of the policy conflation, and the impacts of the February 2010 reforms. Also discussed were academic standards for plagiarism and students recruited into high visa points courses.

The respondent had contributed to his organisation's submission to the Senate Inquiry into the Welfare of International Students (2009). He commented that he supported the Baird Review's recommendations regarding improved regulation of the system and more support for students. The respondent seemed to gain satisfaction from contributing to the submission of his organisation, which represented the interests of international students. The transformation of the fields of the university for which he worked and international students included the strategy of speaking out on issues specific to the fields, such as housing and safety. The logics of practice within the field of counselling were supportive and empathic, but Respondent 6 said that the international students were disproportionally represented in the student body accessing his service:

> Student safety is a real concern to the [organisation for which I work] and to the university. The university has responded to these concerns and put a range of measures in place for safety on campus as well as in the induction of international students.

When asked whether international students he met felt concerned about their representation in the media as a commodity for the Australian economy and a $15 billion industry, Respondent 6 answered that students did not express to him directly that they were concerned about the marketisation of higher education and stereotyping of international students. Instead, he said, 'They express that the academic system is very difficult and some feel discriminated against as non-English-speaking students.'

The researcher raised the issue of the conflation between international education and skilled migration and asked whether the respondent believed it had resulted in a larger population of students primarily seeking a migration outcome rather than an Australian qualification. Respondent 6 replied that he thought at the university where he worked there were concentrations of international students in courses that granted greater points towards a PR visa.

While he was cognisant of the discourse and debate around the recruitment of ethnic concentrations into high visa points courses, such as accounting, Respondent 6 said that the university did work to maintain its standards and reputation. He gave an example of the university acting to assert control over the balance in the field of international student education:

> The university has standards and a reputation to protect and the widespread abuse of the system has prompted an audit of these classes for quality, plagiarism and so on. An entire class was failed on the grounds of plagiarism, which meant they all had to do the subject again … The university needed to send a message.

This indicates that the university where Respondent 6 worked managed the risk of commercialisation of the market for international students. Acknowledging that there were concentrations of international students in high-skilled visa points courses was implicit acknowledgement that the students' agents, to whom they were paying commissions, and who had a register of business credentials, were marketing migration as an outcome of higher education in Australia.

5.7.1   The February 2010 reforms

In relation to the Migration Amendment (Visa Capping) legislation that was part of the February 2010 reforms, the respondent was hesitant on the subject of providing migration advice. He said that his organisation, while supportive of students caught in an uncertain situation, were not migration officers or lawyers; although they had a general understanding

of the ramifications of the laws, they were not in a position to advise or counsel a course of action to the students affected.

Both this respondent and his colleague Respondent 5 referred to the anxiety and insecurity felt by many international students about their ability to convert their studies into permanent residency. Interestingly, Respondent 6's comment on the idea of a future skills list that DEEWR had mooted in a discussion paper when creating the CSL in 2010 and this was reflected the comments by Respondent 1 – both respondents believed that international students would have no interest in studying professions on a future skills list that was purely speculative, unless they were directly linked to migration points.

5.7.2   Summary

This respondent was circumspect and cautious in his approach to the interview. However, he expressed empathy for those students impacted by the Migration Amendment (Visa Capping) legislation, saying that those students felt 'alarm and insecurity' about their futures and migration chances. Respondent 6's habitus/disposition was professional and centred on his duty of care for students. He did not volunteer any individual stories to illustrate the impact of the legislation on his clients. Although he took a pragmatic position towards a question about migration policy skills and future iterations of the MODL, saying that students would not engage with a 'future skills' list unless it carried weight for migration points and led to real jobs, his focus was on the students, their welfare and ability to achieve their goals and aspirations through the university where he worked. He stated that he was relieved to meet someone who 'was on the side of the international students' and not looking to exploit them. Respondent 6 seemed to derive meaning and job satisfaction from his role in working for an organisation dedicated to supporting and helping students.

5.8   Respondent 7 – International student

Respondent 7 was an insider of higher education and a postgraduate international student from India who was studying a Bachelor of Laws, having completed a Bachelor of Computer Science and a Diploma of Business Management in Australia during the 10 years leading up to the interview. His colleague Respondent 5 had referred him to the researcher. The long interview focused on the respondent's personal story, including his experiences and feelings during his journey of study, work and migration. His primary motivation for coming to study in Australia was to gain a well-recognised Australian qualification that would help with him to run the family business in India, he said.

The main topics covered by this interview were recruitment of international students, the market for education and the power of agents, the student experience, lack of information and support, returning to India, the racism Respondent 7 experienced by police, and his role as an advocate for other international students.

From the outset of the interview, the respondent engaged in a discussion about the conflation and discourse of migration policy and the mobility of international students. He pointed out that at the time he came to study in Australia, in 1999, the skilled migration permanent residency option was not available onshore for students graduating from Australian universities. However, his experiences left him 'shocked' and 'disillusioned' about his student experience. In the first place, the agents in India lied about the institution he would study in; later he realised he had been lied to about the transferability of a vocational qualification to a university course.

5.8.1 Recruitment to study in Australia

At the time Respondent 7 was recruited, he said, the agents in India were being paid higher commissions from Australian private colleges than Australian universities, so they were very forceful and persuasive about their clients enrolling in private colleges. Agents told Respondent 7 that he would easily get exemptions for further study and that 'the AQTF [Australian Quality Training Framework] qualification was recognised all over the world'. At the time he applied to study in Australia, a thorough three-stage process existed for assessing eligibility, which involved interviews with Australian and Indian officials. Officials assessed potential students' health, finances and ability to undertake the study. He claims that this process has now been outsourced and is 'very dodgy', involving much corruption and bribery (Baird 2010).

Respondent 7 said that he was 'shocked' at his experience in the private college in which he was enrolled. He was amazed that private colleges in Australia were low-grade colleges where all the students were from overseas. He had been led to believe that he would be entering a high-status college on par with those in India, yet he was 'stuck' in a five-room, low-grade city building doing a Diploma of Business Management. His experiences made him feel powerless to change his situation as a student of a market based education provider, which 'marked students as present' when they were not there. There were days, he said, when there were only five people in the class – the rest were working to live and pay their way through their studies. He felt trapped in a situation that was very far from his expectations and experience.

It took two years for Respondent 7 to complete the Diploma of Business Management he then applied to a number of universities to do an undergraduate degree.

During his 10 years' studying, working and migrating to Australia, the respondent had direct experience in the fields of universities, the labour market and governments and their officers. He made it clear that as a young, naive man from India he did not have the knowledge, experience, insight or reliable information about studying in Australia to inform his decisions and that potential students were reliant on agents for cultural and educational information.

'Shocked' and 'disillusioned' are words that characterised this respondent's experience of Australia for some years. A disillusioned person had believed something different about, and had different expectations of, the reality that eventuated. Both Respondents 4 and 5 said in their interviews that other students felt the same way. The agents who were marketing education in India told Respondent 7 lies about private colleges, qualifications, exemptions and the culture and life he could expect in Australia.

The power of migration/education agents in India was a common theme in the government reviews around the market for international students (Baird 2010) and was highlighted during the Senate Inquiry into the Welfare of International Students in 2009. For Respondent 7, this power was aggressive, overwhelming and relentless as well as completely dishonest and deceitful. He said he felt 'duped' and 'misled'. This characterised the commercialisation of education for Respondent 7, where the agents that profit from the market in sending countries operated by taking advantage of young people and their families. Respondent 7 related the story of his sister, who was also applying to study in Australia:

> My sister came here about 3½ years ago, she applied in India and I was on the phone every day just to make sure she does not end up in a private college wasting two years of her life. The agent was literally forcing her to go to college saying, 'You can get qualifications that will be recognised Australia wide and worldwide,' and this is full of crap.

5.8.2 The lack of information and support for students

Although he had a cousin in Australia, Respondent 7 could not turn to him for emotional support. Respondent 7 was living in a share house with five or six people who were strangers (Baas 2006): 'When I came home I would go to my room and cry at night.' It was

very hard, he said. He did not know who to turn to for help. The college had no student association or union, and the migrant advisory services turned him away because they were not funded for students.

He stated that intercultural guidance and information are very important for international students, and he gave the example of Australian homophobia, explaining that in his country it was quite normal for boys to walk along the street arm in arm or holding hands. He said that eye contact in Australia was an issue: it was normal where he came from to stare at people on the street yet not look a superior or elder in the eye, but in Australia the reverse was true, in that people, especially men, got hostile if you stared at them, and superiors and elders told you to look them in the eye when speaking to them.

Furthermore, the difficulties Respondent 7 experienced trying to navigate the culture in Australia left him more confused, and he came into conflict with other social cohorts on issues of inter-ethnic territory and homophobia (Sawir et al. 2008).

The lack of information for students prior to their arrival in Australia was raised during the Baird Review and was emphasised by Respondents 2, 4 and 5. In general, international students are young people who do not have a lot of experience beyond their own culture. They need accurate, clear information about what the life, study, culture and workplace will be like in Australia.

Respondent 7 was eventually accepted into a Bachelor of Computer Science. He stated that he had wanted to study software engineering. When asked if that was because it had been an identified skill shortage industry, he said:

> It's what I wanted to do when I was in India. I always wanted to do a BBA, or Bachelor of Business Administration, because my family history is in business. My father funded all my study, even for university, which meant I did not have to work full-time. The intention then was to go back to India because there was no migration policy in place. I thought that maybe there was a pathway to go to university, but when I finished my course I discovered there wasn't and it was a shock.

The respondent did return to India. However, he said he felt as though he was between two worlds and that he no longer fitted into the old world, so he returned to live and work in Australia and was granted a PR visa. His relationship with his wife did not work out, and they were divorced; however, he met another woman and they lived together and had a child. His family came to Australia regularly, so he got to see a lot of them; his sister had

gone to university and settled in Australia. Following his graduation, Respondent 7 worked in a number of roles, including in computing for a bank, and then as a taxi company co-owner and driver.

5.8.3 Institutional racism

After a confrontation with a neighbour, the local police were called. This became humiliating and traumatic for Respondent 7, as he believed he was treated badly by the police in a manner that was unjust and racist. He sold his house and moved suburbs. When questioned about his treatment at the hands of the police, Respondent 7 said he believed that their response to his situation, where his neighbour had been robbed, demonstrated 'institutional racism' towards him.

It was this incident that was the trigger for Respondent 7 to establish a not-for-profit association to help international students who suffered discrimination, and it was the motivation for him to enrol in a Bachelor of Laws degree. The respondent said that 85 per cent of the international students who sought his help had grievances with their employer or landlord. He and his fellow representatives often reported these incidences to Fair Work Australia and the Office of Fair Trading.

Respondent 7 had been aggrieved and shamed by the incident and the police response which he perceived as blaming him for insolence as a form of police racism. However, he differentiated this experience from the attack he experienced as a taxi driver, which he thought of as criminal behaviour. Respondent 2 drew attention to this difference when he was asked about violence against Indians. He explained that, while he recognised racism existed in this situation, it was more about the vulnerability of the victim than a conscious design by racist gangs to 'curry bash' (D'Costa 2010).

5.8.4 Summary – an advocate for international students

This respondent converted his experience and capital to transform the fields of the labour market, higher education and the experiences of international students and thus contributed to restoring the balance of power in those fields to the benefit of the students and the whole community:

> The first step is to create awareness. The second, which I have been talking to
> community leaders and elderly people about, is that we need representation, not
> just from a student perspective, but also from community leaders' perspective. If

there are four people sitting here and there is no Indian, three of them will not know what the thinking background of an Indian is, so we need to have some people with decision-making power. The new changes [the cap and cease legislation] have affected the students in very negative ways, and I think the government have hurt not only private colleges but universities also.

Many of the themes of the discourse and debate around international students can be found in Respondent 7's life story, as his experiences were both personal and historical. His story is one of resilience and determination in the face of difficulty. He persevered in achieving his goal of obtaining an Australian higher education and decided that the negative experiences he endured as an international student and a young man in a different culture could be transformed to help others navigate the reefs of living and studying in Australia. In many ways, he is an everyman of international students.

5.9   Respondent 8 – Employer ICT company

Respondent 8 was a recruiter from human resources in the regional office of a small to medium enterprise that specialised in information communication technology (ICT). The researcher had met Respondent 8 through a mutual colleague. The respondent was an insider of the industry and of labour markets, but an outsider to fields of government and universities.

This respondent's capital comprised the power to filter job applications from international students for positions within her firm, acting as a funnel for what were highly desirable jobs in the IT industry. This respondent's habitus/disposition was pragmatic, but she was not without compassion for international students as job applicants. At the time of the interview, certain ICT jobs remained on the newly created Critical Skills List (CSL), (Evans 2011) and were considered to be critical to Australia's economic success.

The respondent possessed capitals in skills, qualifications and experience in her field and understood the need to have a good fit for the positions her firm advertised in terms of applicants' aptitudes and attitudes. Working on the principle that we all have different forms of influence and power as capitals, Respondent 8 and the domain expert from the programming area of her firm assessed what the applicants possessed that could contribute to the firm's capacity to maintain their business and profit. She made choices and discriminated positively towards the universities that were educating students in the hard skills of her industry. For the most part, these were first-tier universities which turned out students who were qualified and reliable.

The main topics covered in the interview were recruitment processes; quality of applicants; preferred universities for degrees in ICT; migration and permanent residency requirements; English language standards; and skills, abilities and aptitudes needed for success in the industry and the workplace.

5.9.1　Recruitment and quality of degrees

Respondent 8 recognised the issues faced by international students on entering the workforce, such as obtaining the necessary visas which allowed them to work and, especially, English language proficiency. She stated that her company received large numbers of applications for positions they advertised and that around 20 per cent were from former international students. The respondent gave a positive assessment of international students, and she said that her company conducted its recruitment practices in an open manner, however she expressed significant concern around former international students' levels of English not being adequate to interview for the jobs advertised.

The focus for the company was on the applicant's degree and how it matched the company's skills needs. While each position listed the skills required, it was also necessary to recruit applicants with matching attributes and attitudes, and Respondent 8 stated that the quality of degrees differed from one university to another. The recruiters in her human resources team and the subject experts who were part of the interview panels discriminated towards the better quality ICT degrees from certain universities. Some employers, including Respondents 8 and 9, were selective about the quality of the universities students came from – for them, not all degrees were equal. Soft degrees in management were not specific to the ICT field of technology and science, and they found that the older universities turned out more qualified students whose domain knowledge was reliable.

Some universities, she stated, had lower entry scores or offered master's degrees in ICT that focused on soft and management skills rather than technical skills, for example, programming. She said that graduates of these degrees found it difficult at the interview stage, as they did not know the answers to basic technical questions. The organisational and team fit was also forefront in the minds of the interview panel. They wanted employees to be 'passionate and committed' about their work but also able to fit into the team dynamic. Her firm had a very multicultural and multi-faith office and worked hard to build a strong team ethic: 'The company was definitely open to recruitment from different countries and faiths. From China, Pakistan and India.'

Having some experience working in teams was an essential ingredient for harmony and interacting, and work experience helped international students to overcome the cultural barriers they faced when seeking employment, she had observed. The respondent recognised that there was a global skills shortage in the ICT field, as it was changing, converging and becoming ubiquitous at all levels of business. However, she conceded that the experiences of international students were diminished by virtue of the difficulties they had with living costs, English language capability and the barriers to labour market participation. Struggling to express themselves at interview in English was a decisive factor in eliminating former students from the recruitment process, she said. Often it was disappointing for her, too, that the quality of degrees differed from one university to another.

The respondent said that successful applicants received 18 months of specialist in-house training and that the applicants' learning style was a factor the interview panel wanted to know about.

Former international students must have permanent residency in order to stay and work in Australia. Some former international students had not been granted a PR visa, and this was a direct barrier to employment – these applicants were screened out. Other former international students sought sponsorship for employment from the company in order to migrate to Australia as a skilled migrant. Respondent 8 was a representative of the labour market and an employer, specifically, a recruitment officer for a small to medium enterprise within a regional office. Working within the fields of labour markets and the employment of international students, she expressed concerns about the quality of university degrees to meet the firm's needs, which were quite specific. She was not consciously competing to influence the field balances of either labour markets or migration. However, the logic of human resources practices was influencing the fields indirectly through their application to international students. The power to grade and judge candidates based on their degrees, their language abilities and their dispositions or attitudes to team work had a flow-on effect to the connected fields of universities and international students. When asked about the importance of having a degree, Respondent 8 reflected:

> A degree was highly desirable. In most cases for certain roles, the very niche roles, we would find someone with the foundation that the degree gives you in IT to be able to perform the role. But most of them [international student applicants] applied with either a degree from overseas or they came here and had done a secondary degree or their master's as well in Australia.

The respondent's position-taking on the issue of skills shortages was occupational and her initial observation was affirmative, but she qualified by saying that, irrespective of the motivations of international students, it was difficult to get a good match to a vacancy. With regard to identifying skills shortages, she commented:

> I think it's hard finding good people. There were people out there wanting to get into IT, there were people with degrees, but they didn't necessarily have the skills needed. There were shortages in our area, but I think unfortunately not all graduates realised that getting a degree doesn't guarantee you a job. You then have to do the hard work on top of that.

5.9.2   English language standards

While Respondent 8 was applying effective transformation of the ICT field through the recruitment process, she did highlight that international students applying for jobs needed appropriate English language proficiency. She said that those who struggled with English during the recruitment and interview process were disadvantaged – their difficulty to communicate in English became 'a show stopper'. This is consistent with the comments and analysis from Respondents 1, 3, 4 and 9 that English was essential to success at interviews and in getting work (Bretag 2007; Cranmer 2006). An applicant's ability to communicate effectively in English was central to Respondent 8's selection decisions:

> I found it worrying that people could have a master's degree yet not be able to communicate with me effectively. We would give fairly straightforward questions, so I would find it a bit concerning that they would still struggle with a master's or maybe two degrees, and not be able to communicate with us.

5.9.3   Industry standards

The respondent came to the conclusion that there were inconsistent standards across universities when it came to the English capabilities of their students. The same could be said of curriculum content, she said, which made the selection process more rigorous, as the recruiters needed to drill down on specific subjects and areas of study. The respondent observed: 'There doesn't seem to be a standard across universities about what is an acceptable pass level, also for the content of degrees as well. With IT degrees, there is a vast range.'

The final decision-making for appointment to a position in the firm was with managers more senior than Respondent 8. However, she was on the interview panel and explained some of the strategies for choices made about applicant capabilities and knowledge of the ICT industry. The idea of a consistent national standard of English language capability was also canvassed by Respondents 1 and 4, who said that desirable graduates have a level of English communication expected in industry. The lack of this capability was the reason, Respondent 4 claimed, that employers were not interested in employing international students in Australia.

5.9.4   Summary

Some universities, Respondent 8 said, were delivering different quality of education some better than others – the foundation to a successful working life was a degree that teaches the applicant the knowledge and skills to do a particular job. Employers were looking for the right fit between the role they wanted to fill and the applicants for the job. Those people without proper IT programming skills, she said, found it difficult at interview, as they did not know answers to basic technical questions. Having some work experience in teams, was also an essential ingredient for harmony and interacting; work experience helped overcome the cultural barriers employees faced. In addition to candidates' aptitudes, attitudes and communication skills, the firm also made decisions on their capacity to learn and their learning style. Applicants for positions had to be able to communicate well in English, and if they couldn't: 'That was a very big show stopper and a definite barrier for them.'

Respondent 8 recognised that there was a global skills shortage in the ICT field as it was changing, converging and becoming ubiquitous at all levels of business.

Respondent 8 found that graduates from certain Australian universities had degrees that met the standards required by industry, and graduates from other universities did not. She made no specific value judgement about international students, but she was concerned that some degrees did not meet the needs of the ICT industry. She also questioned how students could complete a degree in Australia and not be able to adequately speak English. This also spoke to the great variation in the quality of degrees on offer to international students.

The capitals Respondent 8 exerted on her field of the labour market and labour force in Australia was, on the one hand, the preservation of employer and industry priorities and, on the other hand, transformational because of the dynamic and diverse workforce the respondent's firm recruited and invested in. Within the field of universities, the selection

and rejection of particular international students from particular degrees would theoretically have a transformational effect if the universities acted on the industry feedback about what organisations expect of graduates in terms of technical skills and English language capability.

5.10   Respondent 9 – Senior government manager

Respondent 9 worked in human resources management and recruitment for a large government organisation. This respondent operated in two fields, which allowed her to engage with two of the discourses from an intellectual and professional perspective. Her capitals, or influence and power, comprised her insider position as a senior manager within a government organisation, working in human resources and recruitment. At the same time, she was a postgraduate student taking courses which also included international students, such as accounting, so her knowledge of international students was informed by those in her university program.

The respondent said that to 'her knowledge she had not recruited any former international students but that many of the staff in her organisation came from different ethnic backgrounds and she had no problem with that'.

The main topics covered in this interview were lack of English language proficiency; recruiting for skills; the damaged reputations of some universities who had actively marketed their degrees to international students; and the value of international students to the economy.

5.10.1   English language capability

Respondent 9 was a postgraduate student who studied with quite a large group of international students, who she said were polite and respectful, which were attributes attractive to employers. She acknowledged that it was difficult to communicate with some classmates who had insufficient English language skills and a lack of work experience in their fields. Not all the students in the cohort were proficient in English, and some of the students in her cohort faced a 'grave disadvantage' because of this. Many, she stated, wanted to get a PR visa, which was the reason they were studying a Master of Business and Accounting by coursework.

The respondent displayed empathy for international students. She stated that she was carrying the workload and participation requirements for some of her classmates and that they seemed to be 'attracted' to her. She also observed that for a number of students the

cultural difference in the hierarchy of both learning and organisation was challenging. However, she observed once again that English was a barrier for international students in her group:

> I also feel that I have carried a bit more of the burden for the group assignments when English is not their first language. They seem to gravitate toward me. I have also found the economic demographic quite limited, i.e. they need to be from fairly wealthy families it seems.

5.10.2   Recruiting for skills

The respondent said that in her human resources role for a large government department she would continue to recruit international students. However, English language fluency was essential. Getting a degree did not guarantee English fluency or a job. Former international students needed permanent residency in order to stay and work unrestricted in Australia. Like Respondent 8, Respondent 9 said she recruited for skills and attitude as well as the attributes desired by employers, such as capacity to learn, ability to fit into a team and good work ethic.

In terms of skilled migration and international student mobility, and the linking of skilled migration to international students, her perspective was that the needs of the labour market were dynamic:

> This seems to move about a bit with the market and I think that sometimes students get impacted through no fault of their own. I think there are some very clear areas of skill gaps such as engineering, but I think this goes in waves as many students who were good at science and maths went into finance because the money was seen to be better.

Respondent 9 said she was open to employing international students but had not to her knowledge employed an international student (or former international student). Her tendency in recruitment was to:

> As the saying goes, 'recruit for skills and fire on behaviours'. There is much more emphasis now on organisational fit. Do my values equate with what this organisation does or wants to do? Does this interest or excite me? People want to work doing something meaningful, as well as having a good work/life balance.

International students had a very positive effect on the economy, Respondent 9 said. The need for migration of students on completion of their studies would boost the tax base in Australia. However, from a labour market perspective, she believed that there was an over-emphasis on certain professional categories to the detriment of others:

> I think overall there has been a real loss in the helping professions as they are not so fashionable and not so well paid and I think the government could look at attracting teachers, social workers etc. through better pay scales. But I think there was a values shift in the late 80s and 90s, and in the 2000s many more options apply for people looking for career development. The notion of 'a profession' carries less cache and it is no longer a guarantee of good income.

English language skills were mentioned earlier in the context of Respondent 9's postgraduate degree. She said that English language skills were also essential to success in the Australian workforce and that without those skills many international students would be gravely disadvantaged. She was concerned that universities were delivering different education outcomes, some of which were better than others. However, the foundation to a successful working life was a degree in which the applicant gained the knowledge and skills necessary to do a particular job. Employers were looking for the right fit between the role they wanted to fill and the right applicant for the job.

5.10.3   Reputational loss to universities

The conflation and the exploitation of education for migration outcomes, Respondent 9 stated, had meant that the reputations of some Australian universities had been damaged and that standards had been compromised. Standards, she stated, had been 'dumbed down' for the international student market, and employers were aware of this.

Respondent 9 felt that permanent residency was the primary goal of many international students, and she said that many Chinese students were returning to China now that the rules had changed. While she thought there was 'some truth' in the assertion that a large population of students were only after permanent residency, there were no guarantees:

> I don't think you can just show up and get a pass. I think it's a bit of a myth. There are group assignments that can help them. However, my course also has exams of at least 30 per cent, so I think there are safeguards in place. But I am going to a very reputable university. I'm not sure whether this is the case at universities and colleges with lower entry requirements.

She did believe that master's programs were an avenue to improve 'employability skills' in a competitive market. When asked if she thought standards were being compromised, she reflected:

> I think that's a fair comment. I think there are many whose communication skills would put them at a grave disadvantage in the employment market … I question whether they would have been doing a Masters in the past except for the state of the employment market or their lack of employability.

The student experience was diminished, Respondent 9 believed, by the trials and tribulations they faced in a new country, including security and safety, especially when travelling late at night for work; a lack of affordable housing; and the fact that many had to work long hours in low-paid jobs to survive. She said that the NSW Government should grant international students subsidised travel and that governments and universities needed to collaborate to improve the conditions that many international students were living under.

5.10.4   Value of international students to the economy

This respondent engaged intellectually with the fields and discourses from a constructive and labour market based perspective while linking skilled migration and international students to the current and future needs of the labour market. However, many skills shortages are 'global', and this may make the choices for universities more difficult – Respondent 9 believed that Australia was not the first choice of destination for many globally mobile students, and that America was the most desirable destination for them.

In relation to the labour market, she said there were 'waves' of professions that were deemed to be part of a skills shortage, while others were 'less fashionable', such as the social sciences professionals. Analysis of the labour market over time demonstrated a value shift, claimed the respondent, whereby people were seeking career development and the notion of having a 'profession' had 'less cache'. However, she believed that migration and international students made a valuable contribution to the economy.

5.10.5   Suggested strategies

In seeking to use her capitals to influence the field of the labour market in her area, the respondent helped establish an internship at a university, to give international students work experience and therefore make them more employable. Her strategy was to engage

with international students before they become job applicants, so that they had more organisational and cultural awareness:

> Organisations need to be better at explaining this to international students in ways they understand. At [my] organisation we are trialling, with [a] university, an international student internship, paid for one day a week to help settle them into a proper work experience earlier.

The strategies suggested by Respondent 9 have the potential to affect transformation at the local level of her workplace and for individual students. However, she believed that consistent and higher standards needed to be mandated across the sector. Having a national standard of English language proficiency that was not premised on IELTS was also raised by Respondent 1 and Respondent 4 as a prerequisite to enrolment in an Australia degree.

What students needed most while they were studying, according to Respondent 9, was ongoing training in English language for academic purposes. This idea of ongoing support or lack thereof was also raised by Respondents 3 and 4. For Respondent 5, IELTS had many disadvantages as a benchmark for entry into university. Respondent 9 claimed that raising the level of IELTS was a strategy that would improve the English proficiency of new students. However, she believed that it was outsourced to the recruitment sector and was therefore problematic and costly.

5.10.6   Summary

Respondent 9 said she would continue to recruit international students who had the right skills, attitudes and attributes and who were fluent in English – this was an essential skill. She was concerned for the reputation and standards of Australia's universities. She noted that international students also contributed to the Australian economy, but often in jobs that left them open to security issues, which should be a concern for governments and universities.

 The sites of contest for Respondent 9 were recognition that international students struggled for their share of university support and acceptance in the broader community, and that the conflation of migration and higher education disadvantaged students and created cultural enclosure. She suggested strategies and incremental transformations that could be affected at the local level of her own power base, such as work experience programs. Solutions to the selection, enrolment and teaching of international students focused on English language capacity and the need to mandate consistent and higher standards across the sector.

5.11   Differences and overlaps in interviews

During the interviews, the respondents observed and commented on the issues central to the research project. New learning that emerged during the interview process included that English language was essential to success; that students were exploited because of the vulnerability of their positions, especially their debt burden in their home countries, where loans to international students had created and a speculative banking industry; and that education/migration agents showed their power by luring potential international students with promises of permanent residency.

The respondents collectively were insiders in the three fields (government, tertiary education and the market for overseas students) and acted as agents with varying degrees of capital/power to transform their fields. All the respondents were engaged in transforming their fields. Respondents 1 and 2 had the most capital to influence policy and effect changes, because they worked in across the fields of governments and tertiary education. The field of the labour market was investigated through Respondents 8 and 9 as employers, but the latter was also an insider of universities and government.

Lack of support for international students was identified as a fault of a system that recruited large numbers of international students into courses that would award them points towards a visa. Respondent 7 said there was no reliable information in his own country about living and studying in Australia and that his lack of knowledge and understanding of different cultural mores was distressing for him.

The market model of higher education 'did not serve international students well', observed Respondent 5. Further, Respondents 1 and 3 believed that it was unlikely that English language standards would be legislated while the instrumentalist model that maximised profit and minimised costs was maintained. However, Respondents 1, 3, 4, 8 and 9 all stated that consistent standards for the English language capabilities of international students would be positive for higher education and for the students themselves.

Respondents 2 and 5 put forward the position that the change of migration to temporary visas was 'a de facto guest worker' system. They believed that international students contributed to the economy through the fees they paid universities for their degrees, the part-time work they undertook, and the taxes they paid. Respondent 5 said the fact that they worked in industries that involved lower skill levels and lower pay – in the sorts of jobs many Australians did not want to work in – meant they were part of the labour force that made up the 'back end of the economy' and were being exploited. However, despite

recognising that employers do not recruit solely on merit, Respondent 1 challenged the suggestion that international students do not get work in their fields as often as native-born graduates.

Respondents 2, 4, 7 and 5 drew attention to the lack of genuine information for students Respondent 7 reinforced those insights, saying that it was the education/migration agents, often in sending countries, who were the gatekeepers of information about the education system and culture in Australia. Agents lied to gain money by recruiting naïve students into courses that were run by providers that paid the agents higher commissions. Agents also recruited students into courses where, it was promised, international students would be exposed to a multicultural experience have the chance to be granted permanent residency.

Respondent 5 addressed many of the topics raised by Respondents 1 and 2. From her perspective, universities were complicit in the marketisation of international education. Students were exploited all the way, she claimed, and 'everyone wanted to make a buck' from international students.

The transcripts were analysed in relation to the respondents' engagement in the four discourses (globalisation, neoliberalism, migration and international student mobility) and three fields (government, tertiary education and the market for overseas students). By viewing the conflation as a process occurring through a specific period of history covered by the research, meaning can be ascribed to the conflated policy prescriptions, its human impacts and the unintended consequences.

Respondents 1 and 2 were insiders who operated within the fields of government, tertiary education and the market for international students. Both were engaged in government policy through the consultative mechanisms of state and federal governments, but they were also connected to the delivery of education to international students. They had knowledge of the socio-political and economic impacts of the conflation as well as the impacts on the personal lives of international students in Australia. Both respondents took a keen interest in the field of international student experience in Australia and deployed their capitals and positions to change the field by seeking to influence government policy, through their advice to and work with DIAC and DEEWR. While they supported the principle of the policies, they were critical of the way they were implemented and regulated.

The analysis Respondent 2 offered related to the government's economic discourse concerned the need to compensate for an ageing workforce and increase the tax base.

Respondent 2 also brought a measure of personal experience, having been a skilled migrant to Australia some 40 years ago.

Respondent 4 made comparative insights about the support that international students at a university in the United Kingdom in contrast to the lack of support received by international students at the Australian university where she worked at the time she was interviewed. This comparison contributed to the picture of the international student experience in Australia.

Although Respondent 5 identified strongly in the role of elected advocate, spokesperson and representative of postgraduate students at the university where she worked, she also contributed to the public discourse on international students and represented postgraduate students' viewpoints in public events in the fields of tertiary education and government. It was in the role of representative and advocate that Respondent 5 agreed to be interviewed. However, to a considerable extent her positionality was one of moral outrage at the oppression she perceived international students experienced here in Australia. For example, she expressed concern that international students were negatively impacted by the changes to the migration laws in February 2010, in particular, the Migration Amendment (Visa Capping) Bill (2010) that allowed ministerial discretion to cap certain categories of skilled occupations and to cease the visa eligibility of applicants once they had completed their studies in Australia (Evans 2010).

As far as Respondent 5 was concerned, the responsibility for perpetuating an unjust system which lacked real support for international students lay with the university and the government. Respondent 6 saw many of these same issues. Students shared their experiences and difficulties with him and his organisation, often as single issues which were in fact nested within much larger complexities.

Respondent 7, who over 10 years had played a number of roles in the field of tertiary education, made a significant contribution to the research. His time in the sector covered the period of the policy conflation, from 2001 to 2010. Respondent 7 had come to Australia as an international student and felt that from the outset he had been lied to by the agents working on commission in India, who had said that the Australian private college system was equivalent to the Indian one. This respondent's personal history captures and personifies many of the themes of the research. At a symbolic level, Respondent 7's personal narrative is an everyman story – a personification of human conditions commonly experienced as feelings, struggles, successes and ontologies of self-experience and self-

creation. He was both an insider and an outsider. As an advocate, he walked beside other international students.

Both Respondents 8 and 9 were insiders of government and the labour market or employers. Respondent 9 was also studying accounting at the postgraduate level and made observations about her classmates who were international students.

For Respondent 1, the regulatory framework of federalism meant that while there was not a mandated role for the states and territories to enforce the ESOS Act, this jurisdictional arrangement could mean greater compliance for education providers and the regulation of a market-driven industry in which students could be exploited and unsafe.

Respondent 2 believed that bureaucracies at both Commonwealth and the state and territory levels were derelict in their duty of care to students. They registered providers who were clearly operating illegally and did not sanction those who had contravened their licences or registration requirements.

Human rights were central to Respondent 5's argument. She said students made up a temporary workforce without any guarantee of permanent residency, despite having studied here and paid fees. Students were open to mistreatment and exploitation – as Respondent 4 said, nothing seemed fair for the students. Their experiences, as reported by Respondents 4, 5, 6 and 7, pointed to a disparity between their expectations of life as a student in Australia and the reality of their struggle to survive and to perform in their studies and work. They also struggled to understand Australia's education and legal systems, culture and norms.

Collectively, the respondents demonstrated habitus/disposition towards an ethic of care for international students. Respondent 7's negative experience as a migrant studying and working in Australia motivated him to gain a degree in law and help other students, to help prevent them from going through same painful and confusing experiences he encountered.

5.12   Conclusion

This chapter was the second arm of the research. It followed the document analysis of Chapter 4, and used personal accounts in semi-structured interviews to explore the realities of international student life in Australia and the desires, aspirations and challenges that international students faced. It illuminated the impact of the policy conflation, its interpretations and its effects on people working in the international student industry in a range of roles. From the standpoint of marketisation, the export trade of international

education was described in terms of a world market driven by globalisation and international student mobility meeting the skills needed of exporting countries.

The analysis of the semi-structured interviews used Bourdieu's conceptual framework and fields. Capitals, positions and habitus were considered, as were the cross-field effects of the media, particularly in the observations of Respondents 5 and 6. The research methodologies were structured to elicit deeper analysis of the interaction between social policy and international students who had experienced the conflation within the systems of government, tertiary education and the market.

The individual international student was a market creation. International students became consumers in the market for education in Australia or elsewhere. In economic rationalist theory, students have the choice in the market about whether or not to make a purchase. As consumers with free choice, they have agency and power. However, they lose power through the complex duality of being commodified, which was the result when students also became potential migrants.

The interviews highlighted multiple sites of contest within and between the three fields. They demonstrated that the theoretical world failed to consider the consequences of the policy conflation. Some sites of conflict were identified between the federal and state governments, universities and the needs of students. The contest between the government departments DIAC and DEEWR were the main agencies of the conflation.

Fields are way of ordering social life and they provide a structure and history to agents to accumulate capital and position and to undertake specific practices. According to scholars Rawolle and Lingard (2008) an agent's habitus is more than a system of dispositions or 'bodily incorporations' of history rather it is 'socio-genetic or pre-dispositional' (2008, p. 731). Therefore , an agent's habitus includes inclination, interest, sensibilities and alignment of values predicated on an unconscious propensity. It is embodied and egoic and is consolidated through practices over time, thus providing an account of relations between agents and within fields through studies of their practices.

For Bourdieu, the concept of habitus provides a connection between agents and practices within a field (Maton 2005). Interactions occur between agents contesting for capitals within a field, but the fields are not only transactional and cannot be reduced to interactions alone. The field is emergent from but irreducible to such constituting agents and their practices and 'the relational whole is greater than the sum of its parts' (Maton 2005, p. 689). Fields provide not only a structured social space but are magnetic and attract agents

disposed to engage in any given field (Rawolle & Lingard 2008, p. 732). These core constructs of Bourdieu's conceptual apparatus – fields, capitals and habitus – only function fully in relation to each other and position taking is inseparable from the position of the agent in the field.

The researcher acknowledges that the size of the sample of interview respondents did not sufficiently represent the three fields under investigation. Nor was a deeper analysis possible of the habitus of each respondent because of the time limits of the interviews and because, except for Respondent 7, the questions were not of a personal or subjective nature but about transactional the objective relations between the different fields. The funnelling of the selection of respondents occurred because the field was in turmoil between 2009-2010, the time the researcher was undertaking the empirical component of the research. As outlined in detail above, it was conflicted, uncertain and scandalised by a series of private college closures and violence resulting in deaths of international students. The outcome of government actions and legislation to order and control the field of international education was unknown and that created anxiety and political sensitivity for students, universities and private education operators. The focus of the media on criminalised elements of the international student industry and on the victims and colluders, in what was described by Baird (Baird 2010) as the vertical integration of criminal networks to exploit the immigration system in Australia, made identifying and interviewing respondents for the research difficult.

Thus, the selection of respondents was self-selective in that they were a group of people working with and supportive of international students and, as observed by the researcher, the majority of respondents were insiders of the higher education field. As such they were interested in contributing their knowledge, skills, insights, academic analysis, advocacy, public positions and personal experiences to the research; in other words their capitals.

The analysis of the respondent's capitals is straight forward because they occupy positions in their fields, possess various degrees of capitals they bring to bear and, for some, a disposition to transform their field. However, gaining deeper insights into their habitus was less obvious to the researcher, and constitutes a limitation of the research. The interviews themselves only lasted 1-2 hours and were structured around the questions about the impact of the conflation and its disestablishment. Only Respondent 7 revealed his personal story and how that shaped him and his habitus and these experiences give truth to Bourdieu's observation that 'social reality exists, so to speak, twice, in things and in minds, in fields and habitus, outside and inside of agents' (Bourdieu 1996b, p. 213). The research

recognises the struggles that some respondents experienced in the expression of their values and ideas for the field of higher education and for international students.

The research endeavours to reveal the respondent's capitals in the field in addition to identifying the position taking and strategies deployed to maintain or defend their positions within a fluid, highly mobile and conflicted environment. Higher education is a constantly contested field with economic, political and academic forces exerting powerful structuring effects in order to legitimise the type of capitals needed to achieve dominance (Naidoo 2017, 2004).

The semi-structured interviews exposed the following unintended consequences of the policy conflation:

- student safety and wellbeing were compromised
- English language standards became essential to success
- the quality of education was inconsistent across the sector
- the higher education industry was not regulated consistently or effectively
- students were exploited by migration agents and others
- students suffered from social exclusion and cultural enclavism
- students sought a balance between work and study
- students experienced financial stress and indebtedness
- there were academic issues with courses with high migration points that attracted large numbers of international students, which polarised these courses and others
- the February 2010 reforms had a significant impact on students and their futures.

The research results were framed by the research questions asked in Chapter 1:

> What were the intended and unintended consequences of the policy conflation? How did the conflation shape the experiences of international students in Australia?

The interviews revealed the contradictions of the conflation that promoted the marketisation of higher education at the expense of quality education and the student experience. The questions elicited responses in a predesigned direction, and the patterns that emerged from the data included the fact that international students make a positive contribution to the society and the economy but are often in precarious positions.

Many international students struggle with academic work; insufficient English language capabilities; living in Australia, and working to live in Australia; the cultural differences

they are exposed to in Australia; and the debt burdens they have to undertake in order to study in Australia. Respondents were strongly critical of governments, particularly their denials of the link between migration and higher education when the 'rorting' and violence spilt into the public arena, and when they introduced the February 2010 reforms and decoupled the conflation.

Chapter 6 presents a series of conclusions based on the research questions posed in Chapter 3, as well as results and outcomes from the two methods of research (the document analysis and the semi-structured interviews). It also makes recommendations as to how the findings may be applied to the practice of international education and contribute to further research in the field.

Chapter 6: Discussion

6.1 Introduction

The central questions addressed by this research are:

> What were the intended and unintended consequences of the policy conflation? How did the conflation shape the experiences of international students in Australia?

To examine how the conflation of migration and higher education contributed to and became symptomatic of an emergent global policy field of education, this research has explored the consequences of implementing socio-economic policy that was created and produced in the global policy communities and government bureaucracies and then circulated in other fields of reception – that is, the fields of higher education and the market for overseas students (Bourdieu 1999, p. 221). To an extent, these social fields have become a metaphor for global relations (Rawolle & Lingard 2008).

The findings and conclusions from the two parts of this research (the document analysis presented in Chapter 4, and the semi-structured interviews presented in Chapter 5) provide a model for reconceptualising the policy conflation between higher education and migration as one that extends beyond national borders and was part of a global 'policy scape' that originated in centralised policy communities such as the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (Rawolle & Lingard 2008, p. 730). The policy conflation thus constituted the actualisation of global policy that was taken up by the Australian government in response to national and local needs for the economy and the labour market. In doing this, the government engaged in global markets for international students. These markets have porous and transnational borders, have sources of power and influence that are derived from the amount of global capital that moves between them, and are driven by powerful and totalising discourses of globalisation and neoliberalism (Tickell & Peck 2015).

The discourses of globalisation, neoliberalism, migration and international student mobility dominate the fields explored in the research and form part of a broader discourse as they merge with each other across fields (Knight 2008; Rawolle & Lingard 2008). In addition, the phenomenon of cross-field effects exemplified by the crisis in international education

was considered particularly apposite to Bourdieu's interpretation of a 'relational framework' (Naidoo 2004, p. 459) at the intersections of the different institutional fields.

The government based the policy design and development of the conflation of higher education and migration on a set of assumptions about the long-term benefits to the economy of higher education as an export commodity and of the migration of skilled workers. However, it is argued that discourses of migration and international student mobility did not fully take account of the international student's experience or vulnerabilities during these transactions (Robertson 2015). This research provides a more nuanced perspective of international students, where students are commodities in a series of intersecting markets: an export market, a labour market, a migration market and an international debt market.

From a policy viewpoint, the government engaged with global markets and competed for international students. Consequently, the volume of international students increased significantly, as did export revenue, between 2001 and 2010. With regard to the intended consequences of the migration and higher education policy conflation, which is one part of the research question, it can be clearly seen that the increased volume of and revenue from students were intended and successful. The policy conflation did boost the economic growth of Australia to bring additional revenues through the creation of an export market – one that generated over $15 billion by 2007 (Marginson 2007b, p. 8).

6.2   Findings and conclusions of document analysis

The chronological unfolding of the establishment and disestablishment of the conflation, as set out in Chapter 4, Document and review analysis, foregrounded the position-taking of government in response to the unintended consequences of the policy merger. However, the shift in the migration program in Australia reflected worldwide trends of greater labour mobility and significant increases in the numbers of students in other developed Western countries (Marginson 2007a, pp. 5-7). The government's strategic decisions were taken to privilege temporary migration over permanent settlement, based on economic growth through labour market strategies (Access Economics 2009a, pp. 31-33; Marginson 2007a, pp. 5-7). The challenge Australia faces is to sustain its global economic performance and credentials; the policy imperatives analysed in Chapter 4 point to the government's formula for achieving higher levels of qualifications and higher productivity through higher skilled migration levels (Access Economics 2009; Keating & Smith 2011, pp. 1-2). The conflation represented a major paradigm shift in migration policy, from permanent settlers to temporary students and workers (Koleth 2010, p. 1).

6.2.1 Policy production and development

The documents analysed in Chapter 4 were underwritten by government assumptions regarding the benefits that international students would deliver to the economy. They were the 'ideal migrants' and demonstrated that education–migration policy could be read as both 'text and process' (Ball 1998). As a developed Western economy, Australia was undergoing a two-decade process of industrial transformation that had had a significant impact on the nature and shape of our society, economy and education system (Marginson 2007a, p. 7).

Once the Australian Government had adopted the OECD's formula for trade in international students (OECD 2004, 2004a), policy production and implementation occurred within and between two primary Commonwealth departments – the Department of Employment, Education and Workplace Relations (DEEWR) and the Department of Immigration Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA) (later to become the Department of Immigration and Citizenship, or DIAC). Cultural and historical conflicts of mission, positions and logics of practice already existed between the two departments (Naidoo 2004, pp. 457-458), which were to influence the implementation of the conflation in the three fields.

Bourdieu's work on the discourses of globalisation and neoliberalism doing performative work (Bourdieu 1999, 2002) resembles the rhetoric of international student mobility that created a vision of a highly-qualified elite, or a group of highly skilled professionals and technocrats, who circulated the globe deploying their capitals (Castells 1996) and making economies more competitive and lucrative. The language surrounding this phenomenon meant that the reality of international students as people trying to achieve success, overcome barriers, study, work and live in host countries is lost. Thus, it can be shown that the discourses of migration and international student mobility were harnessed in the service of marketisation of Australia's education and training sector for public consumption (Rawolle & Lingard 2008).

As such, the production of the conflation became a policy product circulating (Bourdieu 1999, p. 221) within the fields of universities and VET, and the market, demonstrating that discourses are generative across multiple fields (Ball 2000; Bourdieu 1999, 2004). Policy readings bore out the fact that international students came to represent a multibillion-dollar export market, and the material successes of the conflation, money and volume of students were validated by the terminology and the reality that language created (Bourdieu 2002; Gee & Hull 1996; Lingard et al. 2005; Simmons 2010, p. 2). For example, in the media

releases examined, the positive voices of government are consistently used for the trade in international students. At times this tone is contradicted by the realities on the ground and the unintended policy consequences. This situation demonstrates the context Bourdieu refers to when explaining the consequences of applying policies in one field that were produced in another. Bourdieu postulated that the disjunction between the field of policy production and the field of reception creates 'formidable' misunderstandings. This thesis argues that the education–migration conflation is no exception. Bourdieu observed that the gap between policy production and implementation is highly problematic:

> The fact that texts circulate without their context, that – to use my terms – they don't bring with the field of production of which they are a product, and the fact that recipients who are themselves in a different field of production, reinterpret the texts in accordance with the structure of the field of reception, are facts that generate some formidable misunderstandings and that can have good or bad consequences (Bourdieu 1999, p. 221).

6.2.2   Position-taking by government

The government field opened up a market for international students to study and migrate if they met certain requirements. The establishment legislation was set up to promote a level of education and English language capability which were designed for a smooth transition from student to migrant (Robertson 2015). Although governments base their policy development on an agreed set of values and ideologies (Blackman 2008, p. 429), it is compliance and enforcement of those laws that maintain the control and oversight of systems, markets and the people operating in them (Blackman 2008, p. 429). A gap came to exist between the intention of the legislation and its enactment as a regulatory tool in the marketplace and the public domain (Baird 2010, p. iii). The conclusion drawn from the analysis of the Review of the ESOS Act (2010) was that the primary function of monitoring, regulation and sanctions had been dissipated across multiple agencies as part of the role of the states and territories in the Shared Responsibility Framework with the Commonwealth.

The sites of contest revealed arose from the complexity of the free market approach to international students and the openings that were created for corruption and fraud (Baird 2010, p. 7). Between 2001 and 2009, students found that their identities changed from welcome student to 'visa chaser' (Robertson 2015). The crisis, although triggered by exploitation and violence against students, revealed an awareness by the demonstrating

students of their commodification as 'cash cows' (Nyland 2005). This need to feel included as part of the society is addressed in the interviews and is corroborated by other research (Deumert et al. 2006, 2008; Marginson et al. 2010) into the vulnerabilities of international students.

The announcement by the government to cap and cease General Skilled Migration (GSM) visas for international students and other prospective skilled migrants beyond a fixed ceiling without any recourse to appeal relocated power within the minister's portfolio and marked the disestablishment of the conflation for international student markets and higher education with greater decisional strength located in DIAC, which had the primary regulatory role for immigration (Birrell & Healy 2010). This major policy reversal, also referred to by Respondents 2 and 5, reverberated throughout the migration and higher education sectors and caused anguish and uncertainty for thousands of primary applicants for skilled migration visas (Simmons 2010; Ziguras 2009).

The government wanted to assert control and to clarify a distinction between the two programs of international students and the permanent residence visa (PR visa) program, in contradistinction to the messages and accompanying legislative amendments of the previous eight years. The minister and government had taken an absolute position of control, and the changed language being used by government was designed to rebut former assumptions and statements by the previous government, and to cut the connection in the minds of students and graduates about GSM and the availability of permanent residence.

The position-taking of agents within the field of government supported and legitimated the accumulation of economic capital within the academy and positioned educational services to be traded within global markets (Knight 2008, 2013; OECD 2004). Forces of marketisation fragmented academic autonomy, and the field of universities held less power to mediate that influence in a global world. Universities adapted and evolved to embrace marketisation on a number of levels, including international students and industry funded research, and became more heteronymous, which in turn made them more powerful in their relationships with governments. The creation of an export market through the policy conflation for international students effectively created a market for their migration and commoditised and universalised the students as consumers (Rodin 2009).

Universities positioned themselves as partners of government to increase the market and volume of students as the most desirable vector for both education and migration opportunities. However, students possessed agency in the process and were positioning

themselves in the market for education and migration and in the labour market, as they were not totally victims of the system.

While the disestablishment of the conflation went some way to correct the imbalance between the fields of higher education and government, it did not go far enough to offset applications from onshore for skilled visas, and between 2008 and 2009 international students flooded into Australia wanting to migrate to a higher wage economy with a low population and a welfare safety net. In fact, the number of students commencing in 2009, after the migration reforms of 2007 to change the GSM Program to a demand system, was the highest on record (Birrell & Healy 2010).

The identities of international students as people and potential migrants became 'fuzzy'. It became noticeable that they increasingly occupied jobs in the services industry and were therefore not making smooth transitions into the higher skills and higher wage economy, as predicted by agents from the field of government and promised by recruiting agencies. It is this disjunction that acts as a national manifestation of a failure of neoliberal policy, and therefore it is symptomatic of a global policy field in education that has been taken up and applied with insufficient thought for the implications at the national and local levels.

6.2.3   Role of the media in international education

As previously discussed, the role of the media was integral to the story of international students in Australia. Besides its more benign functions as a vehicle for communication, language is also used within fields as a legitimising function of the underlying hegemonic discourses which have cross-field effects. The media played an essential role in the language of policy and the fields in which it is implemented (Lingard et al. 2005, p. 769; Rawolle & Lingard 2008) for international education as it created a corona of impregnable power around the object, in this case the export market. The idea of the market is valorised as the most desirable goal of any society (Tickell & Peck 2015, pp. 2-4). In the case of the international student industry, as the 'third largest export industry', it was politically insulated, which made the criticism of the policy's purposes and outcomes somehow un-Australian (Simmons 2010, p. 2).

The language of government promoting international students and the skilled migration program stated its resounding success and exemplified the connection between the generation of ideological language and the reinforcement of discourses. For example, given the conclusions drawn by experts in the field and the interviewees cited in this research, Minister Vanstone's 2005 media release is a lesson in ideological obfuscation:

Changes to the Australian Government's Student Visa program since 2001 have been an outstanding success. Approval rates continue to rise whilst non-compliance levels have generally fallen. As a result, Student Visa assessment levels for a number of countries and education sectors will be reduced from 1 November 2005, providing for more streamlined visa processing (Vanstone 2005).

The media releases by government ministers, which continued to do promotional work in the field, were being contradicted by facts on the ground demonstrating the cross-field effects from the field of media and the mediatisation of the politics of the conflation (Rawolle 2005). But soon the media coverage of scandals and the crisis put fields of government, higher education and the market for international students under pressure. However, this exposure, which drew wide public attention, made scapegoats of the international students and did not expose the flaws of the underlying system itself. Calls for control and regulation as evidence of corruption became widespread were instrumental in rescripting the identities of international students, especially Indians, in a negative light since they were the ones who were more conspicuous when they demonstrated about violence and college closures. The media is a global field with a global reach into the sending countries, and it was the Indian media that highlighted the crisis in Australia and created a diplomatic furore (Bahadur 2009).

6.2.4 Sites of contest in government

The negative consequences that resulted from linking incentives to migrate to the opportunity to study in Australia were exacerbated by the fact that the arms of government bureaucracies implementing the conflation operated on different logics of practice and on different cultural missions. As already mentioned, DEEWR 'had a long history of prioritising growth in the international education industry and of warding off any reform which threatened this growth' (Birrell & Healy 2010, p. 70). The industry for international students wielded a great deal of cache because it provided 122,000 jobs in Australia as well as significant export revenue (Access Economics 2009a).

On the other hand, DIMIA/DIAC had a culture of restrictions, control, judgement, compliance, selection criteria for limited places, assessing and discriminating about guidelines and matching migrants to national needs and the economy. DIAC is also a pipeline through which would-be migrants travel in the application process. It is a processing centre, so more claims meant more work assessing applications against a proscribed number of skilled visas available annually (DIAC 2008/09).

The government made legislative changes to correct the skewing of the GSM Program by the conflation in 2007 when the new Minister for Immigration and Citizenship, Chris Evans, called for a Review of the Migration Act (Evans 2008). The Labor government was determined to address the problems in migration and education and moved to stem the flow of migrants, favouring a 'demand-driven' model with employers and government-sponsored skilled migration to 'better target skills needed for the economy', as articulated by the then minister, Chris Evans (Evans 2008).

The assertion of power by the field of government over the selection process and a market geared to exploiting that process meant that the shift to demand-driven migration restored the power of decision-making about the shape and direction of the GSM to government and the minister. This partially addressed an oversupply of international students eligible to apply for permanent residency, but it did not dampen the market, despite shifting the responsibility for applicants to the labour market to find an employer to sponsor them to stay and work in Australia for up to three years (Evans 2009; Mares 2009).

The tensions between the major arms of the bureaucracy responsible for the conflation policy implementation in the field of government were played out, and the agreed position of demand-driven migration represented a political win in cabinet for DIAC over DEEWR, seen in retrospect as a contest between the two major departments whose fields of influence and cultures clashed over the number of international students cum migrants that was needed and manageable:

> The outcome represents a significant victory for the Department of Immigration and Citizenship over the much bigger and generally more powerful Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations. When the policy was contested in Canberra corridors, the heavyweight departments of Treasury, Finance and Prime Minister and Cabinet all came down on Immigration's side (Mares 2009, quoted in Birrell & Healy 2010, p. 70).

The struggle for control of the field of migration between the two bureaucracies and the outcome of the Baird Review separated Australian Education International, the marketing arm of DEEWR responsible for promotion and enrolment and monitoring of international education, and placed it under the control of Austrade, which manages exports more generally (AEI 2010).

6.2.5 Position-taking by tertiary education

The struggles being played out in the field of higher education in universities and VET were directly influencing the strategies and position-taking of the latter for maintaining autonomy over their directions, missions, student composition and status in the world. Importantly, the purpose of the university was being recast by dominant policy and government players as a wealth creator in an emergent knowledge economy, and this was reshaping their structures and functions, including focusing on the accumulation of sources of revenue other than the public purse.

The field of higher education in Australia had been through reforms in the previous two decades, and its linking to migration may be usefully situated within the historical context of the two major reforming trends of marketisation and internationalisation. As already established, higher education operated in an international milieu. It aspired, among other things, to greater internationalisation with a diverse mixture of students from other nations and to increase cultural awareness and exposure in order to enrich the worldviews of the native populations.

The unfolding of globalisation and its attendant self-validating discourses positioned universities as drivers of change and vectors for global flows and concentrations of innovation capitals. The invention of the knowledge economy and knowledge workers that universities invested in made them more open and dynamic than ever before (Marginson 2007a, 2007b).

Universities thus took positions and utilised strategies that would help to build diplomatic and international relationships across the world between governments, institutions, universities and research centres. However, the international student experience was not always a rich, cosmopolitan one that exposed them to a mixture of nationalities and an exciting social life on campus, as the data from the transcripts showed. One of the unintended consequences was the creation of a large cohort of alienated students who were struggling to survive in major cities, living on the outskirts in low socio-economic suburbs, trying to study and improve their English and working long hours in casual jobs (Marginson et al. 2010; Nyland et al. 2009).

Scholars (Slaughter & Leslie 1997) argued that the field of economics had come to over-dominate and over-determine the field of universities through increasing marketisation. This research shows that this included international fee-paying students and other activities such as fee-for-service courses, capitalising on intellectual property rights and research

contracts with private enterprises (Marginson 2009b, p. 6). Government aims for international education were, as already argued, shaped by the central policy community of the OECD (Lingard et al. 2005) and by a market ideology that had influenced policy for higher education in Australia and elsewhere for over a decade (Marginson 2007; Wesley 2009, p. 4).

Universities have been recently described as 'government steered quasi-markets operating on the basis of economic rationalism' (Marginson 2009, pp. 1-2), illustrating position-taking by universities arising from the symbiotic relationship with the field of government. That means the field of universities had developed a dependence on resources for its domestic education and research that was pivoting the field away from autonomy towards heteronomy (Maton 2005): 'embracing social objectives, economic development and economic competitiveness' (Marginson 2009b, p. 6).

The research showed that the power relationships between government and universities are complex and dynamic, but the diminution of funding to teaching and research by governments altered the power relations and forced universities to change strategies and invest in increasing intakes of fee-paying international students (Marginson & Eijkman 2007). It is important to note here that the vast majority of Australian universities are public institutions funded by the federal government and thus prisoner to the whims of national budgeting as different political parties win national elections and assume administration of national affairs. Universities were thus particularly sensitive to claims of educational standards being compromised to accommodate the growth of international students and their need for revenue (Baird 2010, p. vi, 4, 7; Marginson & Eijkman 2007). For example, student safety was crucial to universities' marketing strategies, revenue streams and reputational capital and inextricably connected with their mission and *raison d'etre* (Marginson 2007c, pp. 1-2; Schreuder & Bowman 2010, p. 2). Universities made decisions about enrolment standards and students' English language capabilities and were also dependent on revenue from international students, which represented a potential conflict of interest (Taylor 2011, p. 4).

The crisis in international education had a tipping point in Australia, between 2009 and 2010, that damaged the reputation of Australian universities, as collateral damage not just to their commercial arms (Wesley 2009) but also to the expansion of their networks of influence, research, operations, power and funding. In the case of attacks on Indian students, the damage went beyond universities to Australia's export markets, diplomatic ties and bilateral relationships with India and China, including cultural and social relations and trade (Baird 2010, p. 4; Wesley 2009, p. 1).

By 2008, there were serious problems and cracks in the GSM Program linked to international students arriving in Australia, and the Bradley Review (2008) recommended that government invest much more in the field of higher education and address the growing gap in wealth and education in Australia (Bradley 2008, p. xxi-xxiii). The Bradley Review was important because it became the trigger for the government to bring forward the Review of the ESOS Act. More importantly, it provided another formula to the government for re-engineering the capitals within the field of universities away from over-dependence on the revenue from international students towards greater investment in domestic students and research to bring that investment up to the level of most other OECD countries (Marginson 2007c; Marginson & Eijkman 2007).

In relation to the skewing of overseas student concentrations towards university courses that offered the most migration visa points, scholars Birrell and Healy observed:

> Other indicators, like the remarkable parallel changes in enrolment patterns by international students following changes to the GSM selection rules, are consistent with this PR aspiration. For example, Masters by coursework and undergraduate commencements at Australian universities by international students in information technology field fell from 10,332 in 2004 to 6,461 in 2006 and 7,848 in 2008. By contrast, commencements at the Masters by coursework and undergraduate level for management and commerce courses increased from 26,326 in 2004 to 31,000 in 2006 and 45,853 in 2008. This divergent pattern coincides with the addition of accounting to the MODL in August 2004, but not the professional computing occupations (Birrell & Healy 2010, p. 75).

The field of the market was having cross-field effects (Lingard et al. 2005, pp. 4-5) on the field of universities through the competition of students. As a result, students were enrolled who had lower levels of English that did not equip them to succeed at university and ultimately in the workplace (Arkoudis et al. 2009; Arkoudis et al. 2013; Birrell et al. 2006). Analysis of the submissions to the Baird Review demonstrated that students consistently performed poorly in the International English Language Testing System (IELTS), both before and after their courses, which had led to widespread claims of plagiarism and soft marking within the system (Carlisle 2009).

Private VET providers in the market were engulfed in scandals and government inquiries into corruption and fraud, as they were geared through their business modelling to attract students with low IELTS scores who would qualify for their courses. They thus developed a reputation in the student world of being lax on standards of attendance and quality of

work submitted. Until the crisis in international education came to a head in the private VET sector in 2009 (Bahadur 2009; Das 2009, 2010; Ewart 2009), a series of policy and bureaucratic failures had unfolded, and there had been a reluctance to address the mounting problems in the field of the market for international students – despite consistent warnings for many years prior, and evidence to the Senate Inquiry into the Welfare of International Students in 2009 (Baird 2010, p. 17; Senate Report from Inquiry into Welfare of International Students 2009). As a consequence, the sustainability of the field of international education was put at risk and the reputational damage bled into universities internationally (DEEWR 2009, pp. 63-64). Developed countries such as the United Kingdom and Canada also had issues with international students that were the ramifications of the changing paradigm introduced by monetisation of higher education and migration (Knight 2008; Zheng 2010).

Analysis of the Baird Review (2010) confirmed its role in redressing the imbalances and lack of decisive regulation in the market for international students, including the damage done to Australia's reputation for educational quality and student safety (Nyland et al. 2009). This encompassed the context of an industry that had grown exponentially since the conflation in 2001, fuelled by migration and the market. It also revealed that the government had no overarching strategy to manage the market and its regulation by the states and territories, nor had the Commonwealth made available sufficient resources to the states and territories so that they could monitor and regulate the market in the lead-up to the crisis and the review (Baird 2010, pp. 22-23).

Fundamentally, the field of a market for international students had expanded so quickly that the legislation had not evolved to keep it under control (Baird 2010, p. 22). Migration became the determining factor of a range of behaviours by agents in the field, which eventually compromised Australia's international education. It became a case of the market for international students being the tail that wagged the dog of government regulation (Marginson 2007c). Contributors to the review acknowledged that the resources to effectively regulate the system and enforce sanction were thin and fragmented (Baird 2010, pp. 22-23) Certainly ten staff is an inadequate number for the task of regulating the industry and DEEWR observed in its submission to the Senate Inquiry into the Welfare of International Students that there were only 10 staff in the DEEWR's ESOS compliance section (Baird 2010, pp. 35-37).

Many stories and experiences of international students heard during the Baird Review were reflected in the semi-structured interviews for this research, for example, the lack of access to accurate information for students about the education providers, the courses that were

available, and the costs involved, and the experience of living and studying in Australia (Baird 2010, pp. 35-37). This appeared to be a sales strategy taking advantage of students' lack of knowledge of the reality of studying and living in Australia (Baas 2007, pp. 52-53; Baird 2010, pp. 35-37). In his research with Indian students living in Melbourne, Baas (2006; 2007) drew similar conclusions. According to Respondent 7, it was a tool that agents used to persuade students that their knowledge of the Australian higher education system could be trusted.

Submissions to the Baird Review also showed that a lack of independent complaints, as well as the lack of a grievance-handling service, had the effect of compounding the problems faced by students. Baird makes explicit in his report that the extraordinary growth in student numbers between 2001 and 2009 exacerbated this problem (Baird 2010, pp. 35-37). Respondent 7 pointed out that he had been misinformed by his agent and that his understanding of student life was naïve. Also revealed by the Baird Review (2010) was the lack of financial risk-profiling by government regulators and that tuition assurance that protected students from colleges closing and being unable to complete their courses occupied such a large proportion of the review.

Growth and profit in the international student industry led to perverse outcomes that seriously damaged quality education provision (Bahadur 2009, p. 7; Baird 2010, pp. 2-8). The seeds of the ensuing crisis were referred to in the Bradley Review (Bradley 2008, pp. xxi, xv) and directly addressed by the Baird Review. However, prior to the crisis, scholars and international education insiders had written about the potential problems and unintended consequences of the policy conflation. The cross-field effects from the field of the market, particularly in private VET, into the field of universities can be seen as a contaminating influence that is perceived by some within universities as highly problematic for the ethical standards and the mission of the universities.

6.2.6   The field of the market for overseas students

The uptake by government of the discourses of marketisation of higher education and international student mobility in the service of national socio-economic policy needs drove an exponential increase in the volume of international students in Australia and a commensurate increase in the volume of skilled migrants. By the end of 2009, 11 per cent of the world's foreign students were enrolled in Australia – it had become a destination economy and a strong attractant to skilled migrants within a broad framework of migration policy (Skills Australia 2010, p. 22). This constituted a large and lucrative market with

proportional economic and political capitals, high visibility and influence on the field of government, and it had achieved what the government had set out to do.

A linking of migration opportunities to education provided a market for short-term profits manifesting in dishonest activities among private colleges, such as fraud and corruption of the system. Baird deduced:

> The desire of some providers to pursue the dollar has sometimes … come at the expense of the quality of education delivered. Of great concern to me were frequent allegations of vertical integration of agents, providers, employers and landlords, exploiting international students anxious to achieve permanent migration. In some cases, students appear to collude with these people for mutual gain. In such cases this usually results in poor education outcomes, poor living conditions, low pay, poor working conditions and visa conditions being breached by students with some students sacrificing their studies to complete the cheapest course and working to fund their stay in Australia in order to apply for skilled migration (Baird 2010, p. 7).

Much of the evidence provided and analysed in the Baird Review of the ESOS Act (2010) confirmed 'dodgy practices' by these business owners (Baird 2010, pp. 18-20). This included not providing the resources or curricula for the courses they were registered to teach and not marking students absent from classes (Baird 2010, Submission 107, pp. 15-18). Following the entry into the market of a very large cohort of poorer, less-educated students seeking vocational qualifications and permanent residency, along with the establishment of businesses to facilitate those students, it was clear that the voices of government claiming the successes of international students in the workplace were exaggerated (Birrell et al. 2006). GSM eligibility (Birrell & Healy 2010, p. 68) needed to be more closely matched to language and work experience. Yet, despite the issues, the minister reiterated that 'former overseas students are a very welcome part of the Australian skilled migration program' (Vanstone 2006).

The evidence submitted to the Baird Review indicated that the private colleges were high-risk businesses for the Australian education market and that when 21 of them collapsed during the period 2008–2010 the government was unprepared to deal with the fall-out and the ensuing media storm (Bahadur 2009, pp.1-2). The Australian Council for Private Education and Training, the peak body for colleges and vocational institutions, had accepted membership from many of the private colleges. The former CEO stated:

In retrospect we were a little naïve. We thought that if the state and federal governments had licensed a college to operate, that was enough for it to be a member of our council … the government let us down (Simons 2010).

The research confirmed that the power of the market for students also created a corresponding market structure that was diversified and robust. This provided for recruitment and support systems for the international students – migration lawyers; migration agents; bankers and lenders; housing and employment; support staff within the higher education providers; and services teaching English language – all of which was part of a learning network across the major cities of Australia (Baird 2010). However, the underlying issues were the marketisation of the higher education system and the massification of international students in Australia. Massification results in high concentrations of students in courses for maximum points, such as business and accounting, which brings teaching and learning problems because of the often low levels of English. Concentrations of international students in classes can lead to cultural enclavism, where students from particular countries mix and talk almost exclusively with each other, diluting their opportunities to improve their English language capabilities. The drive to massify attendance at university generally leads to larger classes and tutorials, less individual attention for students and, in some cases, a diminution of the quality of education, and it is linked to instrumentalised education (Fox 2002).

Worldwide trends of international student mobility and labour market mobility via migration are at once individual but also universal and therefore are symptoms of globalisation. This calls forth contributions to theorising and policy development in an emergent global policy field of education emanating from the global organisations and policy communities, such as the OECD and the IMF, that are driving this student mobility (Lingard et al. 2005)

6.3   Findings and conclusions of analysis of interviews

The aim of the interviews was to give a more nuanced human face to the conflation as it shaped the experiences of international students through their own voices and the voices of those who work with them. All the respondents interacted with international students in different ways as they transitioned through studying in universities to employment. Respondent 7 was an international postgraduate student, and his journey was on many levels representative of many other international students (Baas 2006). All the respondents, with the exception of Respondents 2 and 8, were insiders of the field of universities.

Respondent 1, who was an expert in the field, provided a high-level conceptual analysis of the international students within the policy architecture of the conflation.

The varying roles and interactions with international students gave rise to a number of themes from the analysis and were shared by the majority of the respondents. An overarching conclusion from the data was that in its current form the conflation that links education with migration is not good for students because it is based on a marketised model that monetises the transaction between decisions to study, borrow money, get a university education and migrate in order to get permanent residence.

During the interviews, the respondents observed and commented on the issues central to the research project, such as the transnational debt market in sending countries, the debt burden that students carried with them, and the critical part that permanent residency played in decisions to borrow to invest in education in Australia and gain access to the labour market to repay that debt.

The picture that emerged from the research was that international students are resilient and determined; they work hard and overcome exigencies and tribulations including loneliness, discrimination, cultural isolation and confusion. These findings support and extend the work done by Sawir and colleagues (2008), Babacan and colleagues (2009) and Marginson and colleagues (2010), as well as theorising by scholars about the experiences of students and their wellbeing and safety, including their exposure to both casual and institutional racism (Baas 2006; Marginson et al. 2010; Nyland et al. 2009).

The research also reiterated the fact that English language ability was crucial to the success of international students academically and for getting a job. All the respondents spoke about English language as a core competency or skill that was necessary to be able to learn and function within the university system. Respondents 1, 3, 4 and 8 all believed that English language standards should be mandated by industry as a condition of enrolment. Many international students used strategies that were innovative and not always above board in order to survive in the field of universities and the labour market, as shown by Respondents 4 and 7.

The financial situations for international students were often precarious. As Respondent 2 pointed out, they needed to work in casual jobs, often a long way from where they lived, and travel on public transport late at night (Babacan et al. 2009). They also said agents had misled them about what they could expect their life to be like Australia, including the form that the educational institutions took, what college life would be like, the composition of

their classes and the ease with which they would be able to find employment. Many felt that they were exploited once they were onshore in Australia – as Respondent 5 emphasised, 'everyone is out to make a buck from international students'.

There had been an increase in the number of university students, including international students, particularly in 2001–2010, when the number of international students increased by 13 per cent per year (Koleth 2010, pp. 1-2). There have been exponential changes to technology and to the nature of student life. Many Australian students live at home and have part-time jobs, which means that they do not spend a lot of time on campus. In addition, they balance their studies with sporting, social and relationship activities, so their contact with international students is often minimal. Many universities invested heavily in improving student inductions and support, including the development of intercultural awareness training for lecturers and teachers (Schreuder 2010) following the crisis in international education. However, Respondents 4 and 5 believed universities did not do enough for students and that Australia risked creating a 'poison alumni' (Wesley 2009).

Respondent 1 believed the fields of governments and universities should cooperate to mandate higher standards of English language and improve Australia's bureaucratic systems so that the processes of managing large volumes of students and former students are more efficient (Knight 2008, 2013) and meet the needs of industry. Respondent 1 was familiar with the discourses of internationalisation, globalisation and neoliberalism and their impact on marketisation of higher education and the massification of international and domestic students.

According to Respondent 2, the agents in the field of government and the bureaucracy were both 'deluded' if they thought that students would go home at the completion of their studies. Students came to migrate, and they needed to recoup the funds they had borrowed, he said. They were not wealthy; they had to work. They borrowed money, studied, learned English and went through trials and tribulations, yet they were being treated as 'de facto guest workers' and were then told they had got it all wrong they were not eligible to migrate. Respondent 2 considered that the bureaucracy's position on this point was irresponsible, although officers had been defensive when he accused them of being dishonest – in his words, they 'threw a tantrum'.

The field of universities had lost credibility and reputation during the second wave of internationalisation, even though universities employed internal strategies to help students achieve academically. Nevertheless, throughout the past decade there have been consistent claims about soft marking (Forster 2011; Taylor 2011; Trounson 2012), and plagiarism

(Besser 2015; Cervini 2003). However, without the requisite standards and support for English language, and with the heavy debt burden and pressure that international students carry, it is unsurprising that they seek these kinds of strategies to pass their courses. Research shows that the system was shaping their behaviours in this way, as outlined by Respondent 4.

The conclusion drawn from the analysis of the semi-structured interviews is that international students' experiences have been reshaped by the conflation because their ultimate aim is not, in the main, to gain an Australian qualification to take back to their home country. It is, as Respondent 4 stated, to gain a PR visa that allows them to live and work in Australia and to settle with some security.

There are hundreds of thousands of people on temporary work visas and bridging visas who are working in Australia and hoping to be able to convert their capitals to permanent residency. They remain part of a growing temporary workforce referred to by Respondents 2 and 5 as 'de facto guest workers'. The Australian Government, argued Respondent 2, is not going to deport hundreds of thousands of former students. The notion put forward by Evans that students should enrol in courses not purely for a migration outcome but to gain a respected qualification they can take back home is nonsense (Evans 2010; Knight 2011).

6.3.1 Student safety and wellbeing

For international students who choose to move to a new country where the language and culture differ from that of their home country, as do the academic, legal, social and labour systems, having to establish oneself, find housing and work, choose courses, navigate the university or college, work, study, and travel between home, work and university – all while passing their subjects at an acceptable level – is incredibly stressful. Respondent 7 spoke openly about the personal and cultural isolation and loneliness he experienced for some years in Australia.

Through the data from Respondents 2 and 7, the picture of students needing more honest information about the reality of living and studying in Australia came to the fore. Students were vulnerable to exploitation because they were new to the country and were not familiar with its education, legal or industrial laws and rights. They found that they were exploited for financial gain, according to Respondent 5. For example, they had not been told in their home countries about additional charges for each IELTS test, additional charges to apply for an updated visa, more charges for migration advice within Australia, and the costs of living in a city where accommodation close to the university was expensive. Students had

taken out large loans based on the belief that studying in Australia would automatically lead to permanent residency (Baas 2007, pp. 51-52), and therefore, in order to meet their debt obligations at home, they needed unrestricted access to the Australian labour market both during and after study and graduation.

The escalation of violence against international students, particularly Indians, was an alarming development in the field of international education. At the same time the government was seeking to control and mitigate these incidences, and to discover their root causes, evidence was surfacing that international students were vulnerable to exploitation in the labour market, in some instances being underpaid (Babacan 2009, p. 7). Most international students need to work to support themselves, and research has shown that they are often engaged in casualised industries such as hospitality, retail and taxi driving (Baas 2006, 2010; Babacan et al. 2010; Robertson 2015). Students also live in lower socio-economic suburbs on the outskirts of large cities and often have to travel long distances to study and to work at night. They are competing for resources with other cohorts of young people with lower skills levels and other recently arrived migrants.

Many examples have surfaced of employers exploiting students. For example, it was found in 2016 that the 7-Eleven chain of convenience stores made their student employees work long hours and did not pay them lawfully' (Ferguson & Danckert 2016).

Under Australia's migration rules, international students are allowed to work up to 20 hours but often worked more than 20 hours allowed, often in casual positions some distance from home (Babacan et al. 2010). Employers were aware of this and used their position of power over the students to make them work long hours for less than award wages under threat of losing their visas. Because students were travelling late at night on public transport through lower socio-economic suburbs to and from work and study they were also vulnerable to threats and violence by local gangs of youths (Birrell & Healy 2010). Victims of these crimes, the student body and other stakeholders in the sector perceived these acts of violence as racism, but police minimised this perception and labelled the attacks as opportunism, in turn angering students who police had defined as 'soft targets' (Babacan et al. 2009, p. 4). Respondent 7 was involved in the student demonstrations and said the students wanted to be viewed as a united student front, not just Indians. For Respondent 5, 'Indian' was code for 'international students'. Indian students were organised and came from a democratic tradition of protest and lobbying, however they did not want to be seen by the media and the government as speaking only for themselves, but rather for all international students.

Both Respondents 5 and 7 approached their community and business owners about supporting international student protests and organising themselves as a representative force for change. Interestingly, both respondents acknowledged that seeking support from the establishment of Indian community leaders was not really beneficial.

The changing identities of students emphasised by Respondent 5 marginalised them because the media had branded them 'visa chasers', 'good' and 'bad' students and migrants, and the messages from the government about 'genuine students' and 'genuine migrants' made students vulnerable (Knight 2011; Respondent 5). The death of an Indian student, Nitin Garg, in Melbourne in 2010 and the closure of 21 private VET colleges, leaving many thousands of students stranded without courses (Das 2009, 2009, 2010; Gilmore 2010), were the catalysts for widespread and organised unrest and protest by Indian students in Melbourne and Sydney. The government acted swiftly and decisively. It brought forward the planned review of the ESOS Act and launched a concerted diplomatic effort to try to repair the damage done to Australia's international relationship with India and its international reputation for high-quality education (Evans 2009; Gillard 2009; Wesley 2009).

Victoria University commissioned a scoping study into international student safety and found that 50 per cent of international students reported perceived threats to their safety involving racial elements, while the majority of university and sector stakeholders believed that the violent attacks against students were opportunistic (Babacan et al. 2009, pp. 2-3). The data from the interviews of Respondent 2 and 7 corroborated the conclusion that racism *sui generis* was not the cause of the attacks on students, but rather an occasional verbal weapon used in opportunistic crimes. Nevertheless, given the over-heated context, it was understandable that Indian students would draw a link between the racial attacks and their stereotyping in the media.

6.3.2   Success and English language capability

Evidence from the semi-structured interviews suggests that fluency in English, and communications skills more generally, is *the* single most important factor for success in both study and work force participation (Respondents 4 and 8).

English language capability, especially in academic English, was a problem for many international students, particularly those who needed to take part in work placements in industries such as medicine, engineering or accounting. International students were 'over-represented' in counselling services as they tried to manage their work and study loads. A

student's visa depended on their attendance, progress and success in their courses, and their English capability was a major factor in this success. If they fell behind academically or failed, they could forfeit their student visa. Many students became desperate about passing their courses, and this desperation spawned an industry in surrogate essay and assignment writing (Besser 2015).

Students' lack of English capability was inter-related to other problems they were dealing with. For example, Respondent 6 found that students he advised had problems that were 'nested' within the one they presented with: they may have sought his help for an assignment, but that issue was tied to their English language ability, their shift hours and their need to work. Respondent 4 supported this claim, saying that the pressure international students felt in managing their work and study lives prompted them to seek essay-writing services, plagiarism or fake doctors' certificates (Besser 2015; Ockenden 2013).

Universities do not test for English capability either during or after their studies and with the exception of Respondent 2 and 7, all respondents raised the issue of English standards and IELTS. There is debate around IELTS as an accurate measure of English language capability and a tool for reflecting the abilities of students to use English fluently and flexibly in non-prescriptive workplace settings. Ingram (2006) commented that the scope of the IELTS test was limited. Students could swat for the test and memorise the answers or, as was the case in Western Australia, bribe the IELTS administrator to pass the test (Lane 2011). Other countries, for example, Canada and New Zealand, augment and support the English language testing regime to identify students at risk and provide additional resources to help them in their academic work (Hirsh 2006).

The analysis showed that very good levels of English language are essential to success in study and work and that students with poor or inadequate English are under great strain and feel isolated. All the respondents emphasised the need for adequate English language skills. Some respondents stated that standards of English language that met industry needs were the best option for universities; however, they conceded that, given the model of maximising profits from international students at the expense of higher entry standards, it was unlikely that such a requirement would be put in place. Respondent 4 stated that a degree should be a guarantee that the English capability of an international student at an academic level would translate to the workplace. Respondent 4 questioned the appropriateness of a test for citizenship without standards and a test for English language capabilities that meet the needs of employers. In Australia, the English language proficiency of both entrants and graduates has been a matter of increasing concern over the last 10 years.

Taylor (2001) raised concerns that Australian universities allowing students to graduate when they had inadequate levels of English language for further study or for employment, while Birrell and colleagues (2006) found that three years of study in an English-speaking university did not necessarily improve the English language proficiency of international students with English as an additional language. Birrell concluded that 'students were graduating with less than adequate English language levels of attainment.' (Birrell quoted in Arkoudis et al. 2013, p. 123).

6.3.3   The role of agents

Universities market competitively in sending countries like India, China, Malaysia, Indonesia, Korea and Brazil, but the recruitment and signing up of students is outsourced to agents who operate in-country. Despite the fact that universities register and pay commissions to their agents, universities cannot control what agents do and say to students to persuade them to enrol in a particular university or college.

International students are motivated by their dreams of a better life, but they can be naïve and inexperienced (Baas 2010; Baird 2010). According to Respondent 7, agents tell international students that they can have rich, cosmopolitan campus lives where they will be in classes with a mixture of students from Australia and around the world, as well as other professionals who are studying. Agents tell international students they will be included and supported in academic life and that they will be supported with assistance from colleagues, tutors and the student services available to all students. Potential international students do not have access to accurate information about the courses, the academic standards of work expected, the level of English language required or the reality of living and studying in expensive capital cities (Baird 2010)

The ethical recruitment of students by agents was also an issue identified in the document analysis, with 29 of the 123 submissions to the Baird Review (Baird 2010) specifically citing unscrupulous and fraudulent agents. The responsibility for managing agents went to the providers, with a range of stipulations for greater accountability recommended, such as the use of the databases to track not only the students through a unique identifier but also agents. Other strategies included disclosure of fees and commissions and a whole-of-government response to any dishonest and fraudulent dealings of companies and providers.

The Baird Review (2010) did identify highly sophisticated vertical integration of dishonest and fraudulent business networks, and some of these were linked to criminal organisations forging documents in China and India (Besser 2015). The sheer volume of work for the

migration bureaucracies to check and verify all the documents from these applicants made the processing time lengthy (Mares 2010).

6.3.4 Student exclusion and enclavism

The concentration of recruitment in certain disciplines reflected on the agents that were recruiting in sending countries, according to respondents. The agents promised potential international students a supportive environment, but once the students began their courses in Australia they felt 'isolated and stranded' and a 'real lack of collegiality in the Australian education system'. Respondent 5 said that this was the case for the Masters of Accounting by coursework that she was studying, which had a 90 per cent intake of Chinese students.

Both Respondents 7 and 3 mentioned that the lack of support at Australian higher education institutions made international students feel sad and lonely (Marginson et al. 2010; Sawir et al. 2008). Respondent 7 also explained that groups of young, male international students, not knowing many other people, lived and worked together and went to university together, 'looking for a comfort zone'. Respondent 3 acknowledged that he felt local groups of people sometimes felt threatened by large subgroups of Indians, and he said that some residents felt like their identity was being taken over.

6.3.5 The labour market

The matching of international students to identified skills shortages in the labour market is an inexact science, and the changes to the points system rating in various occupations in demand has not always been synchronous with the decisions made by international students when choosing courses in Australia. Information technology (IT) was a popular course until 2005, when government policy reduced the migration point status of related occupations to 50 points out of a possible 120 points needed for a PR visa. At the same time, accounting became an occupation worth 60 migration points. As a result, a significant proportion of students changed their courses from IT to accounting (Birrell &Healy).

For some students, as observed by Baas (2006, 2010), passing a subject was essential in their quest to gain permanent residency. Without permanent residency, they had little opportunity of gaining a good job with a reasonable wage. In the ICT industry there was less discrimination about race or culture, as long as the applicants had appropriate English language capability and demonstrated their ability to do the job and fit into the existing team.

According to Respondent 4, students are unfamiliar with Australian system of job searching, researching firms, unpaid work experience and internships, and the competitive application and interview process. From anecdotal evidence available to the researcher, many Indian male students said that they had been told by agents in their home country that not only did Australia need them and their skills but they would also be given a job and employers would come onto campus to offer them positions. Respondent 7 indicated that agents told students they could easily get work once they graduated. Students expressed disillusionment and disbelief when informed that there was not a special job waiting for them and that they would be competing with thousands of other international and domestic students for jobs (Birrell & Healy 2013; Birrell & Rapson 2005). Further, the students found that there was no guarantee that they would find employment in their field after they graduated. Research indicates that less than a quarter of the international students who graduated in 2008–09 were able to secure work in their field and commensurate to their level of education (Arkoudis 2009).

6.3.6 The financial stress of students

This research revealed that many students are heavily in debt, having borrowed money to fund their studies in Australia. The outlays of expenses were considerable, including travel to Australia; the cost of tuition; the security deposit of $18,000 required by DIAC (Simons 2010, p. 7) against medical and other costs; living costs; visas costs; migration agents' fees; interest and monies to be repaid to lenders; local travel; food; and books. Students, who had little money when they arrived and carried large debt burdens, struggled to balance their study and work lives with a social life, which contributed to their feelings of loneliness and isolation.

In order to repay their debts, it was essential that the international students pass all their courses, because they could not afford to take a course again and because graduating was their key to finding work in their field. This research demonstrated that international students used whatever methods they could to pass their courses, as pointed out in section 6.3.2.

International students also had to work to survive in order to repay their debts. The migration rules allow them to work up to 20 hours a week, although Respondent 4 pointed out that international students often worked for cash in hand and longer hours than their visa conditions allowed. This added to the existential stress they experienced, he said,

because they risked having their student visas cancelled for breaking the rules yet they needed to work to survive.

Respondent 5 said that the possibility of migration had created a 'speculative bubble in the formative banking sector'. She argued the ramifications for the Indian middle classes were significant, as their positions were more precarious than those in established Western democracies. She also pointed out that students' families used their family homes as security and borrowed from extended family networks.

6.3.7 Permanent residency

The primary motivation of many international students when they enrolled in higher education courses in Australia was permanent residency (Baas 2006, p. 9) and of the Indian students who came to study in Australia during the period of the conflation, 73 per cent managed to make the conversion from international student to permanent resident (Baas 2006, pp. 10-11). Research by Baas (2006, 2010) with a cohort of Indians found that they placed PR at the centre of their endeavours for study and work in Australia.

The GSM visas linked to migration created a huge and relentless demand, because potential international students believed that the single, greatest advantage of the program was to be onshore for eventual permanent residency, although as it turned out they did not have the necessary language, skills or points for a temporary work visa.

Respondents 2 and 4 confirmed that their debt burdens motivated international students to secure a migration status that would give them greater earning capacity. Not having permanent residency further inhibited their earning capacity.

6.3.8 Personal stories

Respondent 7 made a significant contribution to this research project by recounting his personal story about the multiple roles he played over the decade 2001 to 2010, which covered the time of the policy conflation. This respondent's personal history captures and personifies many of the themes of the research. His story reveals his changing subjectivities (identities) – not just as a student, a worker, a father and a migrant but also, in a more nuanced manner, as a young person between two cultures (Marginson et al. 2010; Robertson 2015).

The individual international student is a market creation: a consumer in the market for an education in Australia or elsewhere. In economic rational theory, students in the market have a choice about whether or not to purchase. As consumers with free choice, international students theoretically obtain power – but they also lose power through the complex duality of being commodified while being a student and a potential migrant.

6.4   Summary

The conclusions from the semi-structured interviews reveal a contested narrative about international students in Australia, one that differs from the policy rhetoric at the establishment of the conflation (2010). This learning is supported by research done by Baas (2006, 2010) with a group of Indian students in Melbourne. The research demonstrated that internationalisation and globalisation of trade in higher education constitute discourses and major drivers for policy in Australia (OECD 2000, 2004) in conjunction with the trend of liberalisation of trade under the free trade agreements (Knight 2013). This trend was not unique to Australia: other Western democracies had ageing populations and were developing skills shortages due to the fast pace of technological change (Castells 2000; Skills Australia 2010).

Australia also has a strong migration history and a skilled migration policy based on assessed skills shortages and the needs of the labour market and the broader economy. Other major influences included economic growth in China and India, which enabled middle-class families there to educate their children overseas. Internationalisation of higher education was an established orthodoxy between countries and between universities (Knight 2008, 2013).

This analysis drew on a series of policy changes over the period 2001–2010 that altered the character and shape of the migration program in Australia (Koleth 2010, p. 1; Markus, Jupp & McDonald 2009). The changes also opened the doors to the huge growth in overseas students studying in Australia and applying for permanent residency onshore once they had completed their studies. In order to gain an understanding of the context and intentions for the policy documents, the researcher focused on the vocabulary used in the documents to establish the formative and driving discourse behind the policy landscape for the conflation and the research that informed the policy decisions that led to the conviction by governments that establishing a student migrant nexus was manageable. The policy design, implementation and adjustments do not take account of the international student experiences and the choices available to them.

The discourses of neoliberal marketisation, migration and international student mobility are apparent within the fields explored in the policy documents and texts as much as the transcripts of the interviews. These discourses do not exist separately but form part of the broader discourse of globalisation. However, the field of economics has come to dominate the field of universities through the marketisation of international fee-paying students. The discourse of marketisation, migration and student mobility within the field of government and their policy development universalised and commoditised international students as human resources, while the research attempts to individualise their experiences as students and young people living and working in Australia on a temporary basis.

The reality of international students is one of vulnerability. They struggle with English language competence, as IELTS is only a minimum benchmark (Hirsh 2006), and they need and lack additional support, teaching and practice to become workplace fluent. From the standpoint of marketisation and export trade statistics, international education was described in terms of a world market that allowed discussion in globalised economic theory, in terms of deregulated markets and global trade between signatory countries to free trade agreements and the economy per se to reposition them as a power source that has primary dominance over other social discourses (Knight 2013).

Universities are being shaped by government policies (Marginson 2009), positioned as they are between government (the State) and labour markets; they exert a certain amount of autonomy and influence through knowledge production. This includes a vast, complex, multilayered internationalisation; strategic decisions and position-taking that trade on their relationship; and intellectual capitals to influence exploration, research, trade relations and diplomatic agreements (Wesley 2009). This research shows that international education has been co-opted by the economic field of power (Bourdieu 2003; Currie & Newson 1998; Marginson 2002; Maton 2005), which contributed to the manifestation of market failures in the private education sector and the collapse of vocational colleges (Goswell 2009; Stafford 2010). Similarly, the government was captive to the economic field and did not step in to mitigate the power of the market until the sector and students had reached a visible predicament, when it was forced to act (Baird 2010; Senate Report Inquiry Welfare of International Students 2009). The shift of power to all things economic and the conversion of all capitals within the society to the field of economics is described by Bourdieu (1986) as transubstantiation (Maton 2005), which undermines the autonomy of social fields and their accumulated capitals and is the hallmark of neoliberal political dominance, and this has led to a loss of the social side of the State (Bourdieu 1999, 2002).

Naidoo attributes the insight into the field of higher education to Bourdieu as 'in fact not a product of total consensus, but the product of permanent conflict' (Naidoo 2004, p. 459). Universities themselves defend greater institutional hierarchisation as a marker of their values and achievements – the greater the amount of symbolic and substantive capital the field has, the greater amount of power and influence there is to conserve the field (Bourdieu 1998b, pp. 40-41). Increasingly, however, universities are adopting market mechanisms of branding and marketing to internal and external stakeholders to project a level of power and magnetism beyond the value of academic curricula to signify status and comparative dominance values, such as rankings and metrics (Naidoo et al. 2016, p. 126).

The conclusions of this research support work done by scholars interrogating the real monetary value of the international student market to the economy and the assumptions on which it was based (Birrell 2005). Their criticism of the way the revenue for the industry was calculated by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) was based on the false premise which inflated the amount of money an individual student spent ($49,657 per annum) on living and travel expenses (Koleth 2010, p. 2). The critique highlighted the monetisation of migration – a system referred to specifically by Respondents 1, 2 and 3, while Respondent 5 felt the treatment of international students in this system was unconscionable. Additionally, by all measures international students were not achieving the English language standards required to operate in the workplace (Birrell et al. 2006), yet the information from respondents indicated the funds obtained from international students were not being reinvested into better preparing them for academic study and future work (Marginson 2007b, p. 20).

It is argued that international education is now deeply embedded into the global economy and comprises multiple, competing and relatively autonomous fields, each with their own hierarchies, power relations, capitals, position-taking and strategies and their own logic of practices and habitus. Bourdieu argued that the concept of the global economy, or the knowledge economy, was a State-crafted reality and that the State was not in retreat in the face of open markets but more closely involved in governing through public policy in order to deal with the circumstances it had created (Blackman 2008, pp. 430-31). While social policy has been used to make sense of globalisation and to valorise the discourses of neoliberalism underpinning it, it is still social policy involving people, governments, institutions and communities.

By situating the research within the convergence of the four discourses during a particular period of time, this research established a history of policy-making and a chronology of change in Australian policy-making. This snapshot in history of the establishment of the

conflation, and its subsequent disestablishment, contributed to and was symptomatic of the emergent global policy field of education. The uptake of global discourses by Australian governments to resolve issues in national fields in order to compete in global economic fields and sustain economic growth through education and migration is an example of the expansion and stretching of the emerging global policy field of education.

In the final chapter, this research is placed in the field of international education, and its contribution to that field is outlined. Moreover, the research topic of the conflation as seen through the lens of the international student at the intersection of fields is as yet under-theorised. It is anticipated that this area of study could open up the field to further research grounded in the existing and new knowledge that emerged during this project. It is hoped that this will add to the literature in the field and further contemporise international education theory.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1   Introduction

The contribution this research aspires to make to the field of higher education policy studies is the mapping of a particular convergence of higher education and migration policies in Australia between 2001 and 2010, when governments took up and gave expression to the global discourses and worldwide trends of globalisation, neoliberalism, migration and international student mobility. The research explored how the discourses shaped and influenced the fields of government, tertiary education (universities and VET), the market for international students, and the sites of interaction and contest between them.

The central question the research addressed was how the establishment and disestablishment of this convergence contributed to and became symptomatic of the emergent global policy field of education. It became symptomatic because the export of educational services for international students was redefined as a commodity by global policy communities such as the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and developed as part of the broader policy framework of a knowledge economy (Rawolle & Lingard 2009).

Analysing the policy conflation using Bourdieu's field theory has extended similar scholarly theorising about global transformations described as flows (Mann 2000), scapes (Appadurai 1996) and networks (Castells 1996), demonstrating that Bourdieu's concept of fields may be 'stretched' across global economic, social and political dimensions to exemplify social fields as a metaphor for global relations (Marginson 2008). The research examines the policy nexus and the intended and unintended consequences of the legislation and argues that the unintended consequences – or what went wrong – were symptomatic of the dissonance between policy production and implementation. The research methodology, based on Bourdieu's field theory, created a matrix of four discourses and three fields to interrogate the relationship between circulating, global discourses in national fields and the struggles and conflicts where they intersected. A field:

> has a structural history which finds in each state of the structure both the product of previous struggles to transform or conserve the structure and through the contradictory tensions and power relations that constitute that structure, is the source of its subsequent transformations (Bourdieu 1990, p. 40).

The interaction and overlapping of fields is made more unpredictable by a human subjective–objective conundrum which can never be separated or resolved because we are studying ourselves.

Globalisation has changed the world, and it is argued that as a result higher education has never been more open (Marginson 2007, p. 303). The global education spaces have been transformed by the forces and flows of instant telecommunications, exponential development in technology, mass movements of people and the growth of a knowledge economy derived from the intellectual and academic capitals of research and its dissemination and monetisation. This has been characterised as the cross-border trade in ideas, publications, policies and international students. In other words, the field of higher education has been stretched across the globe and connected in networks of communication.

The structures and processes of internationalisation facilitate sharing research, knowledge, students, academics and technologies, and there is a worldwide trend towards standardising accreditation and recognition through benchmarking against other world universities. The restructuring of the field of universities began with the discourses of neoliberal marketisation within the field of government and a growing global market of knowledge production or the knowledge economy.

The goals of the government were grounded in the national interest and aligned with strategies for economic growth and other Commonwealth commitments such as bilateral diplomatic relations. But the government's commitment to neoliberal marketisation of higher education meant that the directions and policy conditions reflected an ideology that was yet to be tried on an education–migration nexus. The government did conduct internal reviews of the merger in both higher education and migration over the period, and it made a series of adjustments to the selection criteria for migration, such as levels of English required and work readiness for those applicants seeking permanent residence. However, despite the policy shortcomings, the government remained committed to high levels of international students and high intakes of skilled migration (Birrell & Healy 2013). The government's Bradley Review and Baird Review revealed a dissonance between the policy formulation and the experiences at the coalface of international students and those who worked with them in various capacities. The Senate Review into the Welfare of International Students (2009), instigated as a result of exploitation and violence against students, was followed by the Baird Review (2010), which addressed the full-blown crisis in international education that reached a climax in 2009–2010.

Policy-making in higher education is a battle of ideas in a globalising world, and universities are staking their successes, reputations, positions, capitals and missions on certain goals. Universities assume positions relative to and competitive with global education fields as well as in relation to the national government and their domestic interests. This ambidexterity is essential to the *modus vivendi* and sustainability of universities that exhibit heteronomous, external position-takings and strategies in addition to more inward-looking, hierarchical national interests, such as domestic resourcing and research. While there is a certain amount of predictability in the domestic relations between fields of government and universities, there is nothing that is stable and predictable in the global environment.

The field of higher education is fluid and highly porous, and there are multiple flows of differing species of social capital running through it: there are flows of academics, research work, intellectual properties, worldwide cohorts and partnerships between global universities, universities and governments, and universities and other organisations. There are flows of students across borders between universities, people and specialists who are teaching and supporting students, agreements on recognition and quality standards and curricula shared across the globe. Universities operate beyond national borders and promote reciprocity and goodwill. They share much of their capitals in a freely available and universalised way; for example, in the Global Commons, the contributions to Wikipedia and freely available material and research through search engines such as Google Scholar. In short, universities, as a global field, are continually contributing to a better world.

Nevertheless, within the field there are homogenising pressures to standardise recognition and quality arrangements and to have trading and exchange agreements between blocks of countries, such as the Bologna Process and the agreement on the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). At the same time, the diversity of the field in general and the universities in particular have flourished, with Australia leading Western nations in the percentage of international students per total population of students (Productivity Commission 2015). The conclusion to be drawn is that in some ways academia is both a victim of the system, in that it has chosen the enrolment of international students as a position with all the inherent problems of teaching a cohort of non-English-speaking students, and a beneficiary of an enriched multinational student body and increased revenue flows that lessen budget stress.

As discussed in Chapter 2, neoliberal ideology is based on a free market approach that views humans as part of axiomatic formulas that commodify students and tertiary sector

workers along neo-Fordist lines of human capital. But the basic economic tenets of supply and demand in a seemingly value-free, capitalist world are inappropriate when applied to how human behaviours are shaped and driven, since it is precisely the unpredictable human element which is not sufficiently taken into account. Markets and fields are fraught with complexity and shot through with innate contradictions; the market for international education is made up of multifarious agents, institutions, small enterprises, individuals and groups, students and marketers, governments and their regulatory agencies, not to mention the broader network of multidimensional, global connections, governments, interest groups, companies, universities and their staff and research arms. The discourses that represent markets and governments in totalising, archetypal language ignore this deep complexity of their make-up that is riven with contradictions and conflicting interests. Fields are shot through with ambiguities and uncertainties that problematise the interactions and crossover of fields to such an extent that at times they destabilise power relations and joint interests, as was the case with the violence against Indian students in Australia that contributed to the crisis and created a diplomatic incident.

However, globalisation, as applied to the field of higher education/universities, transcends the reductive discourse of neoliberalism. Globalisation is not the only interpretation of market philosophy and cannot be simplified and reduced to economic transactions, as evidenced by the field of higher education, which is a dynamic convergence of human intellect and passion transmitted through a vast and constantly evolving network of telecommunications. The global field of higher education has at its centre the idea of a global world with a humanitarian dimension that expands, not reduces, our humanity.

7.2   Emergent global policy field of education

Social, demographic, technological, political and economic changes have moved the field of higher education generally from an elite field to one of mass education and social transformation. High levels of participation in the university sector results in higher productivity and economic growth. Bourdieu's framework may therefore be widely applied to develop an analytical understanding of institutional strategies worldwide, as his system helps to transcend more simplistic conceptions of universities as autonomous systems unaffected by political decisions.

Higher education is now a policy lever for greater competitiveness in the context of globalisation and as a knowledge economy policy. Governments have co-opted higher education as a lucrative source of economic capital and introduced market mechanisms and logics of practice from private enterprise along neoliberal lines so that the expansion of the

international education policy debate is being mediated by political and industrial forces. This is why Bourdieu's work is still relevant to the changes in higher education and needs further theorising as the escalation of the marketisation of higher education is accompanied by a weakening of autonomy in the face of the economic field. The intersection of different fields of interest can often create volatile and unpredictable consequences, as this research has shown, and any attempt to develop a unified field theory for the Social Sciences *pace* Lingard and colleagues (2005) is doomed to at least partial failure – agents acting in fields are not totally predictable, nor are the unforeseen tensions and contradictions which arise when opposed goals and values meet in a nexus like skilled migration and higher education. Nevertheless, the usefulness of Bourdieu's theory is in the need for government policy of such import as higher education to build in at least some predictive capacity, a kind of 'negative modelling'. It should ask not just 'what could go right?', but also 'what could go wrong, and how could we lessen the chance of undesirable outcomes and consequences?'

The existence of global policy communities is underwritten by the idea of world governing bodies and premised on the model of the United Nations and its agencies. The OECD progressively played a role, not only as think tank but also as a policy actor promulgating neoliberal trade policies to Western nations (Lingard et al. 2005, p. 761). Central to their development discourse was growth, including export of services such as education, as essential to economic sustainability and the development of a knowledge society (OECD 2004).

In Australia, the growth of international students was triggered by this unprecedented global integration of trade in goods and services and the need of governments to use the opportunity that globalisation provided to solve domestic policies of the welfare state as well as to promote national economic growth. The research was able to demonstrate that the arc of public policy involves long-term planning because it is predicated on life-cycle social policies of dependencies and the social issues that arise, and within this space a number of intended and unintended consequences may manifest themselves. The trade in educational products and services was facilitated and valorised by the evolving global education policy communities and the language used to support the arguments for monetising international education (Knight 2013; Lingard et al. 2005, p. 761; Robertson 2015). A confluence of factors has helped to define higher education as one of the vectors of globalisation, and countries have positioned higher education as a 'private good' and not a public responsibility (Knight & Altbach 2007, p. 290).

7.3　International students in Australia in 2015/16

Australia maintains one of the highest concentrations of international students as a percentage of total national tertiary enrolments compared with other English-speaking Western nations. In 2014 it had 450,000 international students studying across all areas of education (Productivity Commission 2015, p. 1). Many of the problems highlighted by the reviews into international students have since been addressed, such as by the provision of better information about university life, the establishment of an Overseas Students Ombudsman and the establishment of two national regulatory bodies, the Tertiary Education Quality Agency and the Australian Quality Standards Agency. One of the key recommendations made by the 2010 Baird Review to address the systemic problems in regulating the industry was that the government take a holistic approach to managing and regulating international education in Australia. Nevertheless, five years later the 2015 Productivity Commission Report on International Education could still observe that the lack of a synchronised and coherent strategy across the whole of government presented the highest risk to the reputation for quality and visa integrity of higher education (Productivity Commission 2015, p. 2).

The heightened risk profile of the new Streamline Visa Processing (SVP) system introduced as a result of the Knight Review (2011) to boost international student enrolments following the disestablishment of the conflation in 2010 and the continued heavy reliance on agents meant that many of the issues dealt with by the Baird Review remained. The Productivity Commission strongly advised that a closer working relationship between the Department of Immigration and Border Protection and the Department of Education and Training was vital to counteracting widespread visa fraud and poor quality educational outcomes. Further, the commission recommended that enforcement of the regulatory settings for ESOS (2000) focus on teaching *and* learning standards, and that greater public information about international education be made available to prospective and current students, including the rules and regulations that are mandatory in Australia.

The integrity of the Australian migration visa system remains under stress, and the continued and persistent incidences of widespread document fraud by students, skilled workers and Temporary Work (Skilled) 457 visa holders place more pressure on the resources of the Department of Immigration and Border Protection (Ockenden 2013). Widespread and persistent claims of plagiarism, conflict of interest (ICAC 2015) and soft marking (Besser 2015) plague the industry, undermining Australia's reputation for quality,

with academics continuing to report that they are pressured by university managements to pass substandard international student academic work (Besser & Cronau 2015).

A study by Deakin University (Blackmore et al. 2014) found that international students were still poorly prepared for the labour market and had unrealistic expectations of their job prospects. Robertson (2013, 2015) concluded that international students were still not achieving job outcomes consistent with their higher education qualifications and were taking up 'racialised' occupations. This research identifies a need for further research into the longer term success of international graduates being matched to identified skills shortages. At present, more than one million temporary migrants are in Australia working on a variety of migration visas, including a significant proportion of international students who transitioned to a 485 Graduate Skills visa or a 457 visa post study. The pressure of this temporary workforce, which was presaged in the semi-structured interviews, is pushing domestic, lower skilled workers and school leavers out of the workforce (Birrell & Healy 2013, p. 3).

The intended aims of the conflation, as previously described, also included enhancing the productivity and diversity of the workforce via the interpolation of skilled migrants into the labour market. While this was intended to meet identified skills shortages in specific occupations, it also had the effect of creating a temporary, mobile workforce in Australia, as earlier described by Koleth (2010, pp. 1-2) and Markus, Jupp and McDonald (2009) in their work on the changing migration patterns and demography of the Skilled Migration program in Australia.

International education is arguably the greatest enterprise of the 21st century. It is shaping discourses as much as being shaped by them. However, Knight and Altbach (2007) argue that internationalisation and globalisation are not synonymous:

> Internationalisation is often confused with globalisation (Altbach 2004). We define globalisation as the economic, political and societal forces pushing 21st century higher education towards greater international involvement. Global capital has, for the first time, heavily invested in knowledge industries worldwide, including higher education and advanced training. This investment reflects the emergence of 'the knowledge society', the rise of the service sector, and the dependence of many societies on knowledge products and highly educated personnel for economic growth (Knight & Altbach 2007, p. 290).

Notwithstanding, the research confirms that a sequence of policies meant that, once the conflation was established and the market for international students was concretised, government struggled for control over the flow of students, the course concentrations, the agents offshore and onshore, the standards required to complete university, quality education and student safety. The trade in international education was also linked to the steady decline in public funding for universities, and over the period 2001–2010 international students came to constitute a quarter of all higher education enrolments and Australia's third largest export industry (Bahadur 2009; Wesley 2009).

A concatenation of events led to a crisis in international education that had repercussions across multiple fields of government, universities and the market. It also had serious consequences for diplomatic, trade and reputational fields, and Australia was seen to be other than the multicultural, egalitarian and safe destination for international students. The crisis highlighted the need to conceptualise how the nature of higher education worldwide is influenced as part of a 'global policy scape'. The value of this conceptualisation is that the combination of higher education and migration weakens the relational autonomy of higher education but on another level, strengthens the fields of economics and migration for governments. The complexity of these interactions has meant that policy has followed a model where the flow was turned on and then turned off and the establishment of the conflation has led to an unmanageable level of migration and instrumentalist education outcomes.

The articulation of globalisation as a set of socio-spatial networks working simultaneously across borders and as global, international and national patterns and practices confers both national capital and global power. This has changed the function, structure and scope of higher education to encompass a new role as agent for economic growth and innovation.

The pertinence of Bourdieu's conceptual approach to analysing policy documents and interviews is the very metaphor of competitive fields. Fields are not only social agglomerations, but fields of forces (Bourdieu 1998b), and higher education is such a competitive field, as Naidoo (2008) noted in "The Competitive State and the Mobilised Market: Higher Education Policy Reform in the United Kingdom". Fields are not only in competition with each other within the State, but internally structured by dominating and dominated agents in a struggle to transform or retain power over the field.

As indicated in Chapter 2 of this thesis, during the 1990s Australian governments anticipated and planned for the growth of the international education industry. Key policy developments were initiated in 1997–98 when the Howard Government allocated

$21 million over four years to promote Australian higher education in Asian and Indian markets. What governments did not predict during the policy discussion for merging education and migration policies was the huge surge of students and would-be migrants propelled by the 'force field' of migration.

Despite numerous government inquiries and legislative changes over the past 15 years, the Productivity Commission Report (2015) on the international education industry warned that Australia was at serious risk of compromising the integrity of educational standards, and hence its worldwide reputation, because of systemic fraud and corruption that left government regulators scrambling for answers. It is possible that the application of Bourdieu's theory of fields, particularly cross-field effects, could be used as analytical, predictive tools to mitigate those risks and prevent the negative consequences evidenced by this research.

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